

ENGLAND UNDER THE LANCASTRIANS

BY

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M.A. (OXON.)

WITH A PREFACE BY

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PREFACE.

THIS, the third volume in the series of Intermediate Texts, links up the first, Miss Hughes' "Illustrations of Chaucer's England" with the second, Miss Thornley's "England under the Yorkists," and the three provide a continuous series of contemporary documents illustrating all aspects of English history, from the accession of Edward III to that of Henry Tudor. The fourth volume in the series comes to more modern times and illustrates the reign of Charles II, while the fifth goes back to Henry III. Other volumes in preparation deal with England before the Norman Conquest and the reign of Elizabeth. It is proposed henceforth to issue a volume each year instead of one in two years, and thus to make more rapid progress towards the completion of the scheme, which is to provide a library of original materials for English history from the period of the Roman occupation to the outbreak of the Great War in 1914.

The present volume covers a period which could not easily be divided, but is nearly as long

as the first and very much longer than the second; and Miss Flemming's task of selection has been correspondingly more difficult. For the commonplace that the materials for English history grow scantier as the Middle Ages draw to a close is based on little more than the circumstances that monastic chronicles dwindled in bulk and in intelligence, and that they formed the chief contents of the so-called Rolls Series, though they were neither "rolls" nor the principal body of materials published under the authority of the Master of the Rolls. This volume provides ample evidence of the hollowness of the commonplace; by far the greater portion of it is drawn from other sources than the chronicles printed in the "Rolls Series"; and not a little comes from MSS. not yet edited.

It is, however, no part of our plan to supersede the need for guidance on the part of the teacher or thought and further reading on that of the student; and, despite the protests of critics who look for the essence of a volume in its preface or introduction and think that students of history should be fed with historical tabloids, it is not proposed to change the scheme of the series and require the editors to summarise the history of the periods, with which they are dealing, in introductions to their extracts from original sources. Their value has been proved to consist mainly in the opportunity they give for each student to work out his own views; and for help in the

process they must rely on their teachers and on their own reading. If Wylie's "Henry IV," Ramsay's "Lancaster and York," and the third volume of Stubbs' "Constitutional History" are beyond their compass, they can at least be referred to the relevant volumes in Longmans' "Political History" or Methuen's "History of England".

A. F. POLLARD.

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NOTES ON THE SOURCES.

THE history of the Lancastrian period is to a large extent derived from the same sources as that of the Yorkist period, a brief account of which will be found in the introduction to Miss I. D. Thornley's "England under the Yorkists" in this series. The standard bibliography is C. Gross's "Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485" (1900). The chief records, which form the most valuable authorities, have been fully catalogued and described in W. R. Scargill-Bird's "Guide to the Public Record Office" (3rd edition, 1908). These fall mainly into three divisions, records of the Chancery, of the Exchequer, and the Judicial records. The Chancery records comprise Patent Rolls, Close Rolls, Charter Rolls, Foreign Rolls, Rolls of Parliament and Statutes of the Realm, Chancery Inquisitions, Warrants for the Great Seal, Ancient Petitions, and early Chancery proceedings. The Patent Rolls have been calendared for the whole period, and the extracts here printed have been taken from the Calendar, or from those printed by Rymer. The extracts from the Close Rolls, which are in the process of being calendared, have been taken from the original roll unless otherwise stated. The Charter Rolls have been calendared to 1417. A calendar of the French Rolls for the reigns of Henry V and VI has been printed in the "Deputy Keeper's Reports," xlv. App. 545-638, and xlviii. App. 217-450. The Norman Roll is printed in full for the year 5 Henry V (Record Commission, 1835), and a calendar for the years

6-10 Henry V is printed in the "Deputy Keeper's Reports," xli. App. 671-810 and xlii. App. 313-472. The French and Norman Rolls are also included in T. Carte's "Catalogue des rolles gascon, norman et français" (1743) (incomplete). The Scottish Rolls have been printed in full (Record Commission, 1814-18). Both Parliament Rolls and Statute Rolls extend throughout the whole period and are printed in full. Printed examples of the Early Chancery Proceedings (summarily calendared, Record Office, Lists and Indexes, xii) may be found in the introductions to the volumes issued by the Record Commission (1832) of "Proceedings in Chancery in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," and in Vol. IV of "Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History" (1914), ed. Sir P. Vinogradoff.

Of the Exchequer records very little has been printed. Extracts from the wardrobe accounts of Henry IV will be found in an Appendix to Vol. IV of J. H. Wylie's "History of England under Henry IV" (1884-98). The Subsidy Rolls for 6 and 9 Henry VI and particulars of the aid of 3 Henry IV for the marriage of the King's eldest daughter have been printed, "Inquests and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids" (Record Commission, 6 vols., 1899-1921). Summaries of the financial history of the reigns will be found in Sir J. Ramsay's "Lancaster and York" (1892) at the end of the concluding chapter of each reign.

The judicial records comprise those of the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, ancient indictments, assize rolls, gaol delivery rolls, coroners' inquests and similar records, many of which have been indexed (Record Office, Lists and Indexes); others have been summarised or printed in full by local societies. The year books, which are not official records, but often throw an interesting light upon judicial proceedings, have been printed in sixteenth and seventeenth century editions only. Another important official source for the period is Sir N. H. Nicolas' "Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council" (Record Commission, 1834-7), a collection of documents relating to the work of the Council drawn from various sources.

The standard bibliography of local records is C. Gross's "Bibliography of Municipal History," *Harvard Historical Studies*, V (1897). Many town records have been printed, among which are those of London, York, Coventry, Nottingham, Leicester. Others have been calendared in the Appendices to the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. The London records are the most important. The "Letter Books" have been calendared for the whole period by Dr. R. R. Sharpe (1909-11). Extracts from these have also been printed in full in the Appendix to his "London and the Kingdom" (1894-5), and he has also compiled a "Calendar of the Wills in the Court of Husting" (1889-90). Other records not printed or calendared are the Journals of the Common Council, from 1417, for which there is an index (unprinted), and the Plea and Memoranda Rolls for which a Calendar is in preparation. The Editor's thanks are due to Mr. A. H. Thomas, Records Clerk of the Corporation of London, for his courtesy in allowing her to use his manuscript of this calendar. Extracts from the Journals and Letter Books to 1422, are also to be found in English in H. T. Riley's "Memorials of London Life" (1868), and in the original in J. Delpit's "Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre" (Documents inédits, 1847).

The chief ecclesiastical records of the period are the Bishops' Registers. Those of Bishops Trefnant, Mascall, Lacy, Poltone, Spofford, Beauchamp, Boulers, and Stanbury of Hereford (Cantilupe and Canterbury and York Society, 1915-20), and of Bishops Mone and Chichele of St. David's (Cymmrodorion Record Series, No. 6, 1917), have been printed in full. Extracts from the Registers of Canterbury and York are printed in Wilkins' "Concilia Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae" (1737). Details of other registers from which extracts have been published, chiefly by local record societies, will be found in R. C. Fowler's "Episcopal Registers of England and Wales" (S.P.C.K., "Helps for Students of History," No. 1, 1918). Other ecclesiastical records of the period may be found in "Visitation of Religious Houses in

the Diocese of Lincoln" (Canterbury and York Soc., XVII, 1915; XXIV, 1919); "Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia" (C.S., 1904-6), "Records of the Northern Convocation" (Surtees Society, 1906), and other publications of these Societies. The "Fasciculi Zizaniorum" (R.S., 1858), contains a collection of documents relating to the Lollards. Three of Bp. Pecock's English works have been printed, "The Repressor of over much blaming of the Clergy" (R.S., 1860), the "Book of Faith" (ed. J. L. Morison, 1909), and the "Donet" (E.E.T.S., 1921). The "Reule of Crysten Religioun" (J. Gairdner, 1911) is a summary only. Extracts from Thomas Gascoigne's "Theological Dictionary" have been edited in J. E. T. Rogers' "Locu e Libro Veritatum" (1881).

In the foreign series of the Calendars of State Papers, only the Venetian and Milanese include material for this period. The "Calendar of Entries in Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland" covers part of the period, the Calendar of "Letters" extending to 1455, that of "Petitions to, the Pope" to 1419. These entries in the Papal Registers include copies of Bulls, diplomatic correspondence, legatine commissions, orders concerning ecclesiastical appointments, dispensations and indulgences to laymen and ecclesiastics, and confirmation of monastic privileges and endowments.

A full discussion of the literary authorities for this period will be found in C. L. Kingsford's "English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century, with an appendix of chronicles and historical pieces hitherto for the most part unprinted" (1913). There are several collections of letters for the period. Of these the "Paston Letters" (ed. J. Gairdner, 1904) are the most important. "The Stonor Letters" (C.S., 1919), though containing some documents relating to these years, do not begin to be of real interest until a later date. Other collections are the "Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV" (R.S., 1860), "Litteræ Cantuarienses III" (R.S., 1887-9), "Christ Church Letters" (C.S., 1877), "Original Letters Illustrative of English History" (Sir H. Ellis, 1825-40), "Letters of the Kings of England" (J. O.

Halliwell-Phillipps, 1846), "*Lettres de Rois, Reines, etc., de France et d'Angleterre*" (A. Champollion-Figeac, Documents Inédits, 1839-47), "*Epistolæ Academicæ*" (H. Anstey, Oxford Historical Society, 1898), "*Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton*" (R.S., 1872), "*Letters of Margaret of Anjou*" (C.S., 1863), "*Letters and Papers of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter, 1447-50*" (C.S., 1871). Further diplomatic correspondence will be found in the "*Letters and Papers Illustrative of the English Wars in France*" (R.S., 1861-4), Gilliodts van Severen, "*Le Cotton MS. Galba B i.*" (*Chroniques Belges inédites*, 1896), and J. Caro, "*Aus der Kanzlei Sigmunds*" (1879). Other letters of the period are contained in the series of "*Ancient Correspondence*" at the Public Record Office; several have been printed in the Appendices to the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and a calendar of these is given as an Appendix to C. L. Kingsford's "*English Historical Literature*". Some correspondence of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, is printed in the "*English Historical Review*," Vols. X, 99-104; XIX, 509-26; XX, 484-98, and several other letters exist in various scattered sources. Of the poetry of the period, the works of Thomas Hoccleve have been printed by the E.E.T.S. (1892-7), as have also the "*Minor Poems*" of John Lydgate (1911). Other examples of his work will be found in "*Chronicles of London*" (C. L. Kingsford, 1905), pp. 97-116, "*Chronicle of London*" (Sir N. H. Nicolas, 1827), and "*Political Poems and Songs*," ii. (R.S., 1861). This last contains several other pieces of the time, the most important being "*The Label of English Policy*". There are several ballads of the Battle of Agincourt, one example of which is given in Nicolas' "*Chronicle of London*," pp. 216-33. Other ballads may be found in "*Archæologia*" XXIX, pp. 326-34, and "*English Chronicle*" (C.S., 1856), pp. 91-4.

The fifteenth century marks the decline of the mediæval monastic chronicle. The S. Albans School is represented by the "*Annales Henrici Quarti*" (R.S., 1866), which extends to 1406, the "*Historia Anglicana*" of Thomas Walsingham

(R.S., 1863), to 1422, and also his "Ypodigma Neustriæ" (R.S., 1876), to 1419, a work of little importance. The "Vita Ricardi Secundi," by a monk of Evesham (ed. T. Hearne, 1729), which includes a continuation to the end of 1402, the chronicle for the reign of Henry IV (ed. J. A. Giles, 1846), and the "Chronicle of Thomas Otterbourne" (ed. T. Hearne, 1732), in "Duo rerum Anglicarum Scriptores," are closely related to the S. Albans Chronicles. Other monastic annals which continue for a part or the whole of the period are those of Bermondsey ("Annales Monastici," iii., R.S., 1866), Waltham (Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 350-4), Gloucester (*ad.*, 355-7), Evesham ("Chronicon Abbatiae Eveshamensis," R.S., 1863) and Meaux ("Chronicon de Melsa," R.S., 1866-8). Other Latin Chronicles are that of Adam of Usk, a Welshman and a lawyer (ed. Sir E. M. Thompson, 1904), which extends to 1422, the Northern and Southern Chronicles (Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," pp. 275-91), the latter being closely connected with the "Continuation of Eulogium Historiarum" (R.S., 1863), and the Chronicle of John Strecche, a Canon of Kenilworth, extending to 1422 (B.M. Add. MS. 35295).

Of the many biographies of Henry V, the most valuable is the "Gesta Henrici Quinti" (English Historical Society, 1850), by Thomas Elmham, a monk of S. Augustine's, Canterbury, written before the end of 1417. Another life by this author is the "Liber Metricus," in Cole, "Memorials of Henry V" (R.S., 1858). Two others, written before 1451, are the "Vita Henrici Quinti," by Tito Livio da Forlì, "poet and orator" to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (ed. T. Hearne, 1716), and "Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti" (ed. T. Hearne, 1727), and wrongly ascribed by him to Thomas Elmham. An abbreviated Latin version of this last is contained in the chronicles for the reign of Henry IV, V, and VI (ed. J. A. Giles, 1846). Later biographies are the "First English Life of Henry V" (ed. C. L. Kingsford, 1911), written in 1513, and the "Historia Henrici Quinti," by Robert Redmayne, in Cole, "Memorials of Henry V" (R.S., 1858), written between 1574-8.

Far more important as literary sources are the "Chronicles of London," written in English and contemporary in origin. Three of these, Cotton MSS., Julius B, ii., Cleopatra C, iv., and Vitellius A, xvi., have been edited by C. L. Kingsford, "Chronicles of London" (1905), and are fully discussed in the introduction. A fourth, "Gregory's Chronicle," is contained in "Historical Collections of a London Citizen" (C.S., 1876), and a fifth, a "Short English Chronicle" in "Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles" (C.S., 1880), both edited by Dr. J. Gairdner. The first version of the London Chronicle to be printed was Harley MS. 565, collated with Cotton MS., Julius B, i., part of which is printed as a continuation of the Harley MS. in a "Chronicle of London" (ed. Sir N. H. Nicolas and E. Tyrrell, 1827). MS. Digby Roll 2 in the Bodleian is a chronicle of London from 1189-1511, and in Macray's "Catalogue of the Digby MSS." it is said to agree verbatim to 1422 with the text printed from Harley MS. 565, by Sir N. H. Nicolas. A comparison of the extract printed below (p. 230) with the corresponding passage in the Harley MS. will show that this is not strictly true. The editor has to thank Miss E. Jeffries Davis for referring her to this chronicle, as also for much help in many ways. Other versions of the London Chronicle have been printed in R. Flenley's "Six Town Chronicles" (1911); of these, Bale's Chronicle, the Longleat MS., MSS. Rawlinson B, 355, and Gough London, 10, relate to this period. "The Great Chronicle" (ed. E. H. Dring (unprinted)) represents the fullest version of these chronicles for the period, but does not add new material of value until after 1460.

The relation of the London Chronicles to the versions of the Brut (E.E.T.S., ed. F. W. Brie, 1906-8) is fully discussed in C. L. Kingsford's "English Historical Literature". Another version of the Brut chronicle has been edited by J. S. Davies, "English Chronicle, 1377-1461" (C.S., 1856). Extracts from the Brut narratives are also given in C. L. Kingsford's "English Historical Literature," pp. 299-309, and from the Latin Brut (*ib.*, 310-37). There also exist

continuations of the Latin Brut, of which two versions have been printed, one under the title of "A Brief Latin Chronicle," in "Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles" (C.S., 1880), and another in C. L. Kingsford's "English Historical Literature," pp 342-9.

John Hardyng (1378 to c. 1464) completed the first version of his chronicle in 1457 and the second in 1464 (ed. Ellis, 1812). Extracts from the first version will be found in Vol. XXVII of the "English Historical Review," pp 740-53. A Chronicle for 1422-31, compiled at S. Albans, is printed with "Johanni Amundesham Annales" (R.S., 1870). The "Register of John Whethamstede, Abbot of S. Albans" (R.S., 1872-3, in *Registrum Abbatie*) contains passages of historical value. William of Worcester's "Annals" are printed in Vol. II, Part II, of "Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France" (R.S., 1861-4), as is also a collection of documents made by him relating to the French War. The "Collections of a Yorkist Partisan" (Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," pp. 358-68) consists of documents of the period 1447-52. Documents relating to the years 1450-60 are contained in Stow's "Annales; or a General Chronicle of England" (ed. E. Howes, 1631).

The chief French chronicles for the period are those of J. de Wavrin ("Chroniques," R.S., 1864-91, to 1471, and also after 1443, ed Mlle. Dupont, Société d'Histoire de France, 1858), E. de Monstrelet, to 1422 ("Chroniques," ed. Buchon, 1836), J. Le Fèvre de S. Rémy ("Chronique," Soc. de l'Hist. de France, 1876), and G. Chastelain ("Chroniques," ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 1863), all with Burgundian sympathies. Other French authorities are the "Chronique du Religieux de S. Denys" ("Documents inédits," 1839), J. J. des Ursins (Michaud et Poujoulat, "Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France," xii.), Pierre le Fémin ("Mémoires," *id.*), "Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris" (*id.*, and A. Tuetey, 1881), and J. Chartier, "Chronique de Charles VII" (ed. Vallet de Viriville, 1858). Documents are printed in G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, "Histoire de Charles VIII"

(1885), and U. Plancher, "*Histoire de Bourgogne*" (1739). The "Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy" (R.S., 1863) are taken from French sources.

The arrangement of these extracts in five books, and under various headings, is made for the convenience of students, and apart from this it has little or no significance. For instance, the commercial policy of the Lancastrians was not among the least important of the causes of their unpopularity (below, p. 253). The commercial classes were usurping the position of the feudal aristocracy, and were no longer a negligible factor in politics. Nor is it mere accident that the most important of the literary authorities for the period are for the first time those written in the English language, and are associated with the towns rather than with the monasteries. Again, the elements of education were doubtless essential for a successful business career, but the awakening intellect of the burgher merchant demanded more than the satisfaction of this utilitarian demand, and the educational activities of the period cannot be accounted for by this alone. So too, the use of the vernacular, whether for historical literature, theological controversy, official records or translations of the Bible, is characteristic of a time when the national consciousness no longer required a foreign war as its medium of expression. The loss of the English possessions in France, after a war which had become a matter of party rather than of national politics, enabled both Lords and Commons to confine their attention to the constitutional struggle at home. The peace and war parties among the Lords continued as rival factions for the control of the Government, and the Commons elaborated constitutional theories hardly more favourable to political stability than the family pre-occupations of the Lords. Finally, in ecclesiastical matters, though the evidence for the existence of widespread heresy or anti-papal opinions is lacking, both Lollardy and the secularisation of education were partly responsible for the growth of an attitude of mind sensitive to the ideals of the Renaissance and the Reformation. The

Pope was playing with a dangerous weapon when he used incipient national jealousies to wreck the Conciliar Movement.

NOTE ON THE TRANSLATIONS.

A TRANSLATION as well as the original text is supplied by the editors of the following volumes: "Royal and Historical Letters during the reign of Henry IV," "Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy," "Letters and Papers of the Wars of the English in France during the reign of Henry VI," "Statute Rolls of Ireland," Wavrin, "Receuil des Chroniques," to 1431, all in the Rolls Series; "Lincoln Diocese Documents" (E.E.T.S.); "Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln" (Canterbury and York Society, Vol. XVII); "Chronicle of Adam of Usk" (English Historical Society), "Select Cases on the Law Merchant" (Selden Society); Ellis, "Original Letters"; "The Records of the Borough of Nottingham".

In Riley, "Memorials of London Life," and "The Records of Mediæval Oxford," a translation only is given. The translation of the Statute Rolls is that printed in the edition issued by the Record Commission, 1810-19.

In the Papal, Milanese, and Venetian Calendars a translation is always given, with occasional extracts in the original.

For all other translations the editor is responsible. The runes have not been printed, though they occur in many of the MSS. (and printed copies) from which these extracts are taken.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE REFERENCES.

Ann. Hen. IV	= Annales Henrici Quarti (R.S.).
C.S.	= Camden Society.
E.E.T.S.	= Early English Text Society.
Eng. Hist. Rev.	= "English Historical Review."
Flenley	= R. Flenley, "Six Town Chronicles".
Gregory's Chron.	= Printed in "Historical Collections of a London Citizen" (C.S.).
Kingsford, Eng. Hist. Lit.	= C. L. Kingsford, "English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century".
N.E.D.	= New English Dictionary.
Nicolas, Proc.	= "Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council," ed. Sir N. H. Nicolas.
P.R.O.	= Public Record Office.
R.S.	= Rolls Series.
Rot. Claus.	= Rotuli Literarum Clausarum.
Rot. Parl.	= Rotuli Parliamentorum.
Rot. Pat.	= Rotuli Literarum Patentium.
Rymer	= Foedera, Conventiones, Literae . . . inter Reges Angliae et alios . . . collected by T. Rymer, 2nd edition, 1727-35.
S.R.	= Statutes of the Realm.
Wals., Hist. Ang.	= T. Walsingham, "Historia Anglicana" (R.S.).
Wilkins, Conc.	= Wilkins, "Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae".

BOOK I. POLITICAL.

1.

[First Parliament of Henry IV, 6 October, 1399. Rot. Parl., in.
415. (Fr-).]

At the Parliament summoned and held at Westminster by King Henry IV, on Monday, the Feast of St. Faith, Virgin, which was the 6th day of October, the first year of the reign of the same King Henry IV, the King himself sitting on his royal throne in the Great Hall at Westminster, in the presence of all the Lords spiritual and temporal, and of the Commons, assembled there by the authority of the summons to the Parliament, and of many other gentlemen and commons, in all a very great number, Thomas of Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, declaring how, on Tuesday last, which was the morrow of St. Michael and the Feast of St. Jerome, Doctor, the King Richard II had summoned a Parliament to be held, and how that summons had no force or effect, by reason of the acceptance of the Renunciation of the said King Richard, and of the Deposition of the said King on the Tuesday above said, as it appears more fully in the records and proceedings recorded and enrolled on the roll of Parliament, . . . showed and declared . . . that this honourable realm of England . . . had been for a long time administered, ruled and governed by children and the counsel of widows by whose means the realm was about to be lost, had not Almighty God, of His great grace and mercy sent a wise and discreet man to govern the realm, who, with the help of God, shall be advised and counselled by the wise and ancient councillors of his kingdom, to the assistance and comfort of himself and the whole realm.

[(*Ibid.*, 425), Wednesday, 15 October.]

The Commons prayed our Lord the King and all the lords spiritual and temporal, in this present Parliament, that it might please them, by their common consent to revoke, annul, reverse, quash, and repeal all that was done in the Parliament held in the said twenty-first year (of King Richard II) or by its authority, and to hold it to be of no effect. . . . This petition seemed to the King just and reasonable, and with the common assent of the said Lords he gave his consent to it. . . .

On the same Wednesday, the said Commons prayed our said Lord the King, that the Parliament held at Westminster in the 11th year of the said King Richard, might be considered valid, and its acts enforced, seeing that they were for the honour and advantage of the Realm. . . . This petition seemed to the King just and reasonable, and with the common assent of the said Lords he gave his consent to it. . . .

Moreover, our Lord the King said, that whereas in the said Parliament held in the 21st year, certain powers were committed by authority of Parliament to certain Lords and others, and to a certain number of these same Lords and others, to answer and determine certain petitions and other matters arising in Parliament, as appears more fully in the Roll of the Parliament; and this was derogatory to all the estates of Realm; it was his will, that no such power should ever be granted henceforth by such authority of Parliament, and that this should never be cited as an example or precedent at any future time. . . .

The Lords and Commons gave answer and agreed that Henry the said eldest son (of the King) should be made Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, and in the event of our said Lord the King's death before that of the said Prince, his eldest son, they would accept the said Prince as lawful heir to the Crown and Realm aforesaid, and that they would obey him as their King and liege lord. . . .

On Thursday, October 23rd, the Lords spiritual and temporal gave answer to the question put to them individually . . .

and said that it was their opinion that he (King Richard) should be securely and secretly imprisoned in a place little frequented by people, and that he should be guarded by trusty and honest persons, and that no former servant of the late king should wait upon him, and that all this should be carried out in the most secret manner possible.

[The Commons demanded the trial of Richard's Appellants.

The King consulted both with the Lords temporal and Lords spiritual and on 3 November Chief Justice Thurning announced their decision (*ibid.*, 452).]

The Lordes in this Parlement, by assent of the kyng, deme and ajuggen and decreen, that the Dukes of Aumale, Surr, and Exestre that bene here present and Appellantz, lese and forgo fro hem and her heirs thes names that thei have nowe os Dukes, and the worship and the dignite therof; and the Markys (Dorset) here present fro hym and his heirs the name of Markys; and the Erle of Gloucestre here present the name of Erle and the worship thereof.

2.

[Rebellion of the Earls of Huntingdon, Kent, and Salisbury. (a)
Wals., "Hist. Ang.," R.S., ii. 242 (Lat.)]

In the year of grace 1400, the Earls of Kent, Salisbury, and Huntingdon, unmindful of the benefits conferred on them by the King, who had saved their lives, determined, against the will of all the commons of the realm and of many nobles, to stir up trouble by holding assemblies in divers places, and binding people by oath to the conspiracy to surprise the King in Windsor Castle, under the disguise of mummers, and cruelly to kill him and his sons, and also to restore King Richard, for whom they had been searching, to the throne, and by such great misdeeds, to recover the ducal titles and lands of which they had been deprived. But the King, mercifully being informed of their intended plot, left the place, and hastened to London. The Earls of Kent and Salisbury,

however, thinking that the King knew nothing of the conspiracy, arrived at dawn on the Sunday after the Feast of the Circumcision of our Lord, that is, the Sunday in the Octave of the Feast of the Holy Innocents, with the intention of carrying out their plot, and entered the castle with an armed following of about 400 men. But when they discovered that the King had been forewarned, they were greatly disturbed, and asked for a lodging. They journeyed with great speed to Sunning near Reading, where the Queen was at that time dwelling. . . . Then, when they had rejoiced the heart of the Queen, though vainly, they left her, and proceeded first to Wallingford, then to Abingdon, exhorting the people wherever they went, to take up arms, and join the forces of their King, Richard. They reached Cirencester after dark: but the people of the town, their suspicions roused by such an array, and thinking, as was true, that their tales were lies, prevented any from going in or coming out of the house where they were. About midnight, when they tried to come out unseen, the townspeople, armed with bows and arrows, effectually prevented them. The Earls, knowing that they were in imminent danger, took up their arms, thinking it would be an easy task to overcome the townspeople. The battle raged, here and there, from midnight until three o'clock. Then at last, worn out, they surrendered to the townspeople, beseeching them not to put them to death until they had spoken with the King. Their wish would have been acceded to, had not a certain priest, one of their family, set fire to certain houses of the town, hoping that while the townspeople were occupied in putting out the fire, the Earls would find an opportunity to escape; but it was in vain, for the people left their houses to burn, and were all the more enraged and determined to revenge themselves on the Earls for the loss incurred by the fire; they led them therefore to the Abbey, and at dawn that same morning, beheaded them. . . . The Earl of Huntingdon . . . tried to escape by sea, but each time he tried to set sail, he was driven back by contrary winds . . . he was captured by the common people and taken first to Chelms-

ford and then to the castle of Plasshy, . . . where . . . he was beheaded.

[(b) Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. IV, i. 318, 5 July, 1400.]

Grant during pleasure for their good service in the capture of the Earls of Kent and Salisbury and other rebels, to the men of the town of Circestre of four does yearly in season in the forest of Bradon and a tun of wine yearly in the port of Bristol and to the women of the town six bucks and a tun of wine yearly as above.

3.

[Death of Richard II. "Ann. Hen. IV," R.S., 331. (Lat.).]

Richard, formerly King of England, was living under a guard in the castle of Pontefract, when he heard of the disaster which had befallen his brother, John Holand, and the others with him, and he was so overwhelmed with grief, it is said, that he wished to put an end to his life by refusing all food. So thoroughly did he starve himself, it is said, that when, by the advice of his friends, he wished to satisfy the demands of nature by eating, the opening of the gullet was closed, and his appetite for food so entirely disappeared that he was unable to eat. And thus he grew weak from natural exhaustion, and on S. Valentine's day he died at the castle aforesaid. His body was borne through the most important places between the said castle and London, and displayed in those places where it remained overnight, that part at least by which he might be recognised, that is to say, from the lower part of the forehead to the throat.

4.

[Invasion of Scotland, August, 1400. (a) Henry demands homage from Robert III. King of Scotland Rymer, viii. 155, from "Rot. Viag.," 1 Hen. IV, m. 34. (Lat.).]

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland to the King of Scotland, greeting, and we exhort you to perform the obligation which you owe to us.

Since our ancestors and progenitors, Kings of England, by the right of superiority and direct overlordship, for a great time, that is to say from the time of Loegrin son of Brut onwards, have been overlords of Scotland and of its kings in all temporal matters pertaining to them, and have received allegiance, homage and the oath of fealty from the kings on behalf of the realm of Scotland, and from those nobles of the realm, from whom they wished to receive it . . . we, therefore, wishing to maintain the rights and prerogatives of our Crown unimpaired, as we are obliged to do by an oath taken by us, require, admonish and exhort you by the tenor of these presents, that considering the effusion of Christian blood and other dangers and losses which may occur if you do not comply with our wishes, you will be present to render us homage and take the oath of fealty . . . on Monday the 23rd of this present month of August, at Edinburgh (where, for this reason and for the peace and tranquillity of the realms of England and Scotland, we intend to be), and that you will cause to attend on the same day, at the same place, and for the same purpose, all the prelates and nobles of the kingdom of Scotland . . . Newcastle on Tyne, 6 August, 1400.

[(b) Robert refused Henry's demand; on 14 August Henry therefore crossed the Border. "Northern Chron.": Kingsford, "Eng Hist. Lit.," 280. (Lat.)]

In the summer following, the King Henry gathered the nobles of the realm into a great army, and marched through Scotland as far as Edinburgh, where he remained for twenty-two days, and meeting with no resistance he did whatever he pleased, but hearing rumours of risings in Wales, he was forced to return.

[(c) Little was accomplished by the expedition, and on 29 August Henry returned to England. Arrangements for further hostilities were, however, made. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. IV, 1. 350, 22 August, 1400]

Whereas the barons of the Cinque ports and the good men of other ports in the north by the King's command and of

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their own freewill have sent by sea to Scotland, ships, barges, balingers and other vessels well arrayed with armed men and archers and laden with victuals for the king and his army, the King has now at length entered Scotland with his army and has directed the Mayors, bailiffs, and other good men of divers cities and towns in the west and the wardens of the ports of the same to array their ships and send them with all speed by the Irish Sea to Scotland and wishes that they shall have to the use of themselves and the said armed men and archers all that they may take from the King's enemies, provided that no injury be done to the King's friends or other allies of the king's kinsman of France, except those of Scotland and Frisland.

5.

[On his way south Henry received news of an insurrection in Wales owing to a dispute between Owen Glendower and Lord Grey de Ruthyn, who held neighbouring lands. Monk of Evesham, "Vita Ric., II," 171. (Lat.).]

When the King arrived at Leicester, there came to him unwelcome tidings of a civil war, namely, of a cursed insurrection of the Welsh. These rebels had chosen a certain knight, Owen Glendower by name, as their prince and captain, against the peace. Of the cause of this rising we have received the following account. When the King was preparing to hasten to Scotland, he sent letters, marked by his signet, to the aforesaid Owen, knowing that in those days he was considered a doughty knight, telling him on no account to refuse to accompany him. Lord Grey of Ruthyn was appointed bearer of these letters. But he having received the letters put off his errand until the departure of the King. The letters were delivered to him on the day preceeding or on the third day before the King set forth. He was greatly astonished and answered that it was too late, and that he was not prepared to undertake such a journey, on a sudden and without warning, and thus briefly made his excuses, saying he neither would nor could proceed to Scotland at that time. Leaving him in

Wales, Lord Grey then set forth to the King in Wales as quickly as possible, giving him an exaggerated account of the matter and saying that the aforesaid Owen had scorned his letters, and had reviled him and treated his commands with contempt. The King, affected by the news, reflected upon the matter. Afterwards he left Leicester with his army, and entered Wales with all haste to fight or utterly to destroy the rebels should fortune so favour him. He wandered hither and thither seeking earnestly for any one he might kill, but he neither saw nor killed anyone. For Owen was hiding from the King in the caves and mountains of Wales. The King therefore, seeing that he was accomplishing nothing, but that his army was suffering, since the food supplies did not nearly suffice for them, gave the lands, rents, and possessions of Owen to Lord Grey,¹ and returned to Worcester by way of Shropshire, where he remained some days, consulting with his council as to what measures should be taken. For this gift of lands, rents, and possessions became the cause of still greater troubles and anxieties, as will appear more plainly below. In the same year after the King's departure, Owen Glendower rose with his followers and first robbed and then entirely destroyed by fire, a certain town in Wales, Ruthyn by name, on the lands of the aforesaid Lord Grey.

6.

[These troubles involved Henry in financial difficulties which necessitated the summoning of Parliament on 20 January, 1401, where his needs were set forth. Rot. Parl., iii. 454. (Fr.).]

On Wednesday, January 21st, Sir William Thirnyng, by the king's command, declared the cause of the summons of Parliament as follows: firstly . . . that it is the King's wish that Holy Church may be maintained and upheld as it has been in the time of his noble progenitors and predecessors, the Kings of England, and as is approved by the Sacred Fathers and doctors of Holy Church and by Holy Scripture.

¹ The confiscated lands were actually given to John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset. Rymer, viii. 163. Rot. Pat., 2 Hen. IV, pt. 1, m. 19.

and that Holy Church may have and enjoy all her liberties and franchises as in the time of these same progenitors and predecessors. And that all the Lords spiritual and temporal, cities and boroughs, may have and enjoy all their liberties, franchises and customs, such as they have reasonably been wont to have by the gift of his said progenitors and predecessors. Also it is the King's will, that all the good laws made by him or by his progenitors and predecessors be firmly kept and maintained and put into execution, and that true and equal law and justice be done equally to the poor as to the rich, and to all the estates of his Realm; and the King is bound to do this by his Coronation oath. And the King wills and commands that no one, of whatever state, condition or degree he be, shall in any way hinder or impede any of his liege subjects from suing at Common Law. And the said Sir William in addition to this explained that our Lord the King had incurred many great debts and expenses, both at his gracious coming to this Realm to save and rescue it, and afterwards, at his honourable Coronation, and during the expedition he personally undertook to subdue the rebellion of certain lords and others of his liege subjects, who had treacherously risen against him. And further for his honourable journey with his Royal army in Scotland; and he further declared how on his return he had received news of the sudden rebellion of his subjects in North Wales, and in order to frustrate their evil design, he journeyed there in his own person with many men at arms and archers. . . . And since he does not wish to burden his people arbitrarily or without good reason, he has received large sums by way of loans, which he is obliged to repay. . . . And also there will be the necessary and heavy expenses for the journey of the Queen (Isabel) on her return to France. And further the charges for the safeguard of Calais and the castles and fortresses in the surrounding country will be heavy; and also for the Duchy of Guienne, which pertains to the Crown of England, since the King of France has made his eldest son Duke of Guienne, thus matters seem more inclined to war than peace.

Furthermore, there are the wars in Ireland and Scotland and many other great expenses which must necessarily be incurred for the safety of the King and of his Realm, as will be more particularly declared to all the Estates of the Realm when need arises. Wherefore, considering all these matters and all that is involved by them, and also how that it is not the King's intention to burden his people beyond what the needs and necessities require, the Lords and Commons are requested to give their attention to the matter, and to make such grants, ordinances and provisions as shall suffice for the safety of our Lord the King and his whole Realm. And the said Sir William further declared to the said Lords and Commons, that often times in the past many of them, having been summoned to Parliament, were more mindful of their own private and particular needs than of the common advantage of the realm and the assistance they might give. Wherefore the King willed and commanded that no Lord, Knight of a shire, Citizen or Burgess, present in Parliament by authority of their summons, should absent themselves from the said Parliament or leave the city until it was dissolved: and that they should come every day to their appointed place in Parliament. And that the said Commons should elect one of themselves as their Common Speaker and should present him to him, as the custom is, on the Saturday following at 10 o'clock. And since our Lord the King wills that true and equal justice be done to all his subjects, both on this side of the water and the other, as is above said, he has appointed certain Receivers and Triers of Petitions, in manner following.—

7.

[Troubles in Wales continued. Owen Glendower assumed the title of Prince of Wales and prepared for further war by inviting help from Ireland and Scotland. Henry led an expedition against him in October, 1401, but failed to meet Owen in battle. Letter from Owen Glendower to the Lords of Ireland asking for help. "Chr. Adam of Usk," 73. (Lat.).]

Greeting and fullness of love, most dread lord and right trusty cousin. Be it known unto you that a great discord or war hath arisen between us and our and your deadly foes, the Saxons. . . . But seeing that it is commonly reported by the prophecy that, before we can have the upper hand in this behalf, you and yours, our well-beloved cousin in Ireland, must stretch forth hereto a helping hand; therefore, most dread lord and right trusty cousin, with heart and soul we pray you that of your horsemen and footmen . . . you do despatch unto us as many as you shall conveniently and honourably be able, saving in all things your honourable estate, as quickly as may seem good unto you, bearing in mind our sore need. . . . Seeing that, most dread lord and cousin, so long as we shall be able to wage manfully this war in our borders, as doubtless is clear unto you, you and all the chieftains of your parts of Ireland will in the meantime have welcome peace and calm repose.

Written in North Wales on the twenty-ninth day of November.

8.

[In August, 1402, the Scots invaded England but were defeated at Homildon Hill on 14 September. "Chron. J. Hardyng," 359.]

In the iii yere, therle of Fyffe and Murrey,
Of Athell, and Angos, and Douglas also
And of Menteth with barons fell yat daye,
The nomber was xl thousande and mo,
Had brent the lande by South, Northward tho
To Homildon, where on Holy Rode daye,
The earle them met in good and stronge araye.

His sonne also, Henry Percy, was there,
George of Dunbar was in theyr company,
And with the Scoties yat daye fought full sere,
Discomfyted them and had the victorie,
Six erles taken and xl thousande playnly,
Some fled, some died, some maimed there for euer,
That to Scotlande agayne came they neuer.

9.

[Sir Edmund Mortimer, after his capture by Owen Glendower, determined to make common cause with him against Henry IV.

(a) Letter from Sir Edmund Mortimer, after his capture on 12 June, 1402, to his tenants. Dated at Mellenyth, 13 December. Ellis, "Original Letters," 2nd Series, i., no 9 (Fr.), from MS. Cott. Cleop., F. iii., fo. 122b.]

Very dear and well-beloved, I greet you much, and make known to you that Owen Glendower has raised a quarrel, of which the object is, if King Richard be alive, to restore him to his Crown, and if not, that my honoured nephew, who is the right heir to the said Crown, shall be King of England, and that the said Owen will assert his right to Wales. And I, seeing and considering that the said quarrel is good and reasonable, have consented to join it, and to aid and maintain it, and, by the grace of God, to a good end. Amen!

[(b) Wales continued in a state of revolt throughout the following year. Letter from Richard Kyngeston, Archdeacon of Hereford, to King Henry IV. Dated 8 July, 1403. Ellis, "Original Letters," 2nd Series, i., no. 6 (Fr.), from MS. Cott. Cleop., F. iii., fo. 121b]

Our most redoubted and sovereign lord the king, I recommend myself humbly to your Highness as your lowly creature and continual orator. And our most redoubted and sovereign Lord, please you to know that from day to day letters are arriving from Wales containing intelligence by which you may learn that the whole country is lost, if you do not go there as quick as possible.

(Postscript in English.)

And for Godes love my lyge Lord, thinkith on zour self and zoure astat, or be my trowthe all is lost elles, but and ze come zoure self with haste all other wolfe folwin aftir. And ot on Fryday last Kermerdyn town is taken and brent, and the Castell zolden be Ro. Wygmor, and the Castell Emelyn is y zoldin; and slayn of the toune of Kermerdyn mo thanne l. persones. Writen in ryght gret haste on Sunday; and y crye zow mercy and putte me in zoure hye grace that y write

so shortly ; for, be my trowthe that y owe to zow, it is needfull.

10.

[Rebellion of the Percies, 1403. (a) "Ann. Hen. IV," R S., 361. (Lat.).]

(The Earl of Worcester and Henry Percy) wrote to divers nobles of the kingdom as well as to the people of the land, sealing the letters with their seals, and asserting that the plan which they had put forward was not contrary to the allegiance or fealty which they had sworn to the King, and that they were not collecting an army for any other purposes than to secure the enjoyment of personal safety, the reform of public administration, and the appointment of wise councillors for the welfare of the King and the realm. In addition, they wrote, that the taxes and tallages conceded, or given to the King, for the safeguard of the realm, were not devoted to their intended use, but too often uselessly expended and consumed.

[(b) The Battle of Shrewsbury, 21 July, 1403. "A Northern Chronicle". Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 281. (Lat.).]

In this year certain wicked and evil-speaking people sowed discord between the lords of the realm and the aforesaid Earl of Northumberland and his son. For which cause, in the summer, about the time of the feast of the translation of St. Thomas,¹ Sir Henry Percy with about two hundred men came from Northumberland through the county of Lancaster as far as Chester, where he summoned all the nobles and magnates, together with the people of the counties of Chester and Flint, and of Bromfield and Yale; and he made a great and strong army; and they proceeded by the Marches of Wales to Shrewsbury. Meanwhile the Earl of Northumberland, his father, was collecting an army in the north, to come to the aid of his son. And many other dukes and nobles of the realm, it was said, promised their help. But the Earl of Westmorland, marshal of England, came up with a large

¹ 7 July.

force, the Earl of Northumberland was compelled to withdraw towards Northumberland, and his followers were dispersed

But King Henry, when he heard of the rising against him, left London and came to Derby, Tutbury, and Burton-on-Trent; and from all parts of the realm people flocked to the King; and when he had collected a large army he marched towards the town of Shrewsbury, where the aforesaid Sir Henry then was.

When, therefore, the armies were prepared for battle on each side, the King with the nobles of the realm, and the aforesaid Henry Percy with Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, his uncle, and many other nobles, barons and knights, took up their positions in a field called "Bullfeld"; and the battle raged from three o'clock until evening; and on each side were killed nobles and many magnates, and of the common people a great number. Amongst whom, alas, fell that renowned and noble lord, Henry Percy on the one side, and on the side of the King, the Earl of Stafford. The Earl of Worcester, Thomas Percy, and the Earl of Douglas were captured. On each side were killed about three thousand, the rest fled, and the victory was with King Henry. Fifteen hundred of the slain were buried in the same field in one grave; and this grave is now the cemetery of a college founded on the spot; there many priests live, who continually offer masses for the souls of the slain.

11.

[Parliament met on 14 January, 1404, when the Commons complained of the heavy expenditure. Rot. Parl., iii. 523. (Fr.).]

May it please the King to send to the said Commons, in their House of meeting, that is to say the Refectory of the Abbey of Westminster, his honourable officers, the Chancellor and Treasurer of England, with the answers, and to show and expound to them the costs and expenditure necessary for the safe-keeping of the sea and also for the defence of the Realm,

and the other charges borne by the King's household, and otherwise. Answers were given with much discretion by the mouth of the said Chancellor to certain of the articles and requests, and others remained unanswered, including those concerned with the ordinance to be made for Wales, both south and north, where that wicked rebel Owen dwells and is now hiding. And to have further information on this matter, the Commons asked that certain of them might go before the lords, to show them their opinions on this matter, and this request was granted. . . . And for these great charges and many others, and for the many gifts of castles, lands, and lordships, and the annuities given neither for good cause nor with discretion, and especially for the heavy charges and expenses of the King's household, . . . the Commons pray the King, right heartily and cordially . . . that it may please him . . . to charge all the lords spiritual and temporal, . . . to give him their counsel and advice on this matter. . . . And, moreover, the Commons said to our said Lord the King, that if these matters should be performed and accomplished in this Parliament, he would find them his faithful liegemen as they ought to be.

12.

[Parliament met at Coventry¹ on 6 October, 1404. The unsatisfactory condition of the finances led to an attack upon the temporal possessions of the Church. There is no mention of these proceedings in the Roll. "Ann. Hen. IV," R.S., 391. (Lat.).]

On the Feast of St. Faith, Virgin,² a Parliament was held at Coventry, the writs of summons being of a new kind, enjoining the election of knights or burgesses who knew nothing of the law of the realm but were altogether unlearned. For this reason this Parliament was afterwards known by

¹ Of the 42 Parliaments summoned between 1399 and 1461, 35 met at Westminster, 2 at Coventry (1404 and 1459), 1 at Gloucester (1407), 2 at Leicester (1414 and 1426), 1 at Bury S. Edmunds (1447), 1 at Reading (1453).

² 6 October.

the name of the "unlearned Parliament". For the knights of the Parliament, recking little either of faith or doctrine, and less wise than heathen or any gentile, strove every day to find a means, by which they might despoil the patrimony of Christ, and take away the temporal possessions granted in times past by holy men and kings to the Church. The bishops were troubled by these things, caring little for the persistency of their demands; but more especially distressed was my Lord of Canterbury, to whom it seemed that not only the Christianity of the kingdom, but the liberty of the whole Church must be considered. . . .

When, therefore, on a certain day, the knights of Parliament entered the public place of meeting and in the accustomed manner, shamelessly announced that the temporalities of the Church were to be granted to the use of the King, the Archbishop, courageous in spirit, answered boldly that he would rather give his life than deprive the Church of the least of her possessions, either in perpetuity or temporarily. . . . The Bishop of Rochester . . . ordered the book in which Magna Carta was written, to be brought and read it to them; and showed that all those who tried to subvert the liberties of the Church were subject to excommunication.

13.

[The war in Wales continued On 28 February, 1405, according to the Chronicle, an alliance was made between the Earl of Northumberland, Edmund Mortimer, and Owen Glendower by which a tripartite division of England and Wales was arranged. Possibly the date should be 1406, see J. H. Wylie, "Henry IV," ii 378-9; and Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 27; "Chron.," ed. Giles, 39-41. (Lat.)]

In this year, on 28 February, Henry, Earl of Northumberland made a league and treaty and alliance of friendship with Owen Glendower and Edmund of March. . . . These same lords of one accord determined and agreed that, the aforesaid Owen and his heirs should have the whole of Cambria or Wales, . . . And the aforesaid Earl of Northumberland,

and his heirs should have the under-mentioned counties, that is to say, Northumberland, Westmorland, Lancaster, York, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Stafford, Leicester, Northampton, Warwick and Norfolk. And the Lord Edward should have the whole of the rest of England for himself and his heirs.

14.

[On 11 March, 1405, the English defeated the Welsh near Grosmont, capturing Owen's son Griffith. Letter from Henry, Prince of Wales, to King Henry IV, 11 March, 1405. Nicolas, "Proc.," i. 248; Ellis, "Original Letters," 2nd Series, i. 15 (Fr.), from MS. Cot. Vesp., F. iii., fo. 59. (Fr.).]

My most redoubted and most Sovereign Lord and Father . . . on Wednesday the eleventh of this present month ~~of~~ March your rebels of the parts of Glamorgan, Morgannok, Usk, Netherwent, and Overwent, assembled to the number of eight thousand men, according to their own account. And they went on the same Wednesday, in the morning, and burnt a part of your town of Grosmont. . . . And there, by the aid of the Blessed Trinity, your people gained the field and vanquished all the said rebels and slew of them by fair account in the field, by the time of their return from the pursuit, some say eight hundred, others a thousand, being questioned upon pain of death; nevertheless whether it were one or the other I will not contend. . . .

Written at Hereford the said Wednesday at night.

Your most humble and obedient son,

HENRY.

15.

[On 14 June, 1404, a treaty was made between Owen Glendower and the French, who, however, did not arrive in Wales until August, 1405. Wals., "Hist. Ang.," R.S., ii. 272. (Lat.).]

(1405.) Meanwhile the French were coming to the assistance of the Welsh, that is of Owen Glendower, and they arrived at the harbour of Milford with 140 ships, but owing

to the lack of fresh water, they lost almost all their horses. Lord Berkeley and Henry Pay burnt fifteen of their ships in the same harbour. The said French, however, laid siege to the town of Carmarthen, and took it, but first they allowed its defenders to take away all their moveable goods and to go wherever they would. About the same time fourteen ships were captured by Lord Berkeley aforesaid and Sir Thomas Swinburne and Henry Pay, whilst they were sailing towards Wales to help Owen ; with these the Seneschal of France and eight other captains were taken.

[*(b) Ibid.*, 273. 1406.]

At that time, whilst the French were hastening to assist Owen Glendower with thirty-eight ships, eight of them, full of armed men, were captured, and the rest in fear fled from Wales. Shortly afterwards fifteen ships, bringing wine and corn, were captured by our merchants to whom the keeping of the sea had been entrusted.

16.

[Rebellion in the North, May, 1405, of the Earl of Northumberland, Mowbray, and Bardolf, supported by Archbishop Scrope of York. (a) Grievances of the rebels. "Ann. Hen. IV," R.S., 403. (Lat.).]

These are the articles, and the defects which A. B. C. and G., with the assent of the common people, wish to have amended, that Parliament should be held at London, and all the estates to enjoy their liberties in the free election of the knights of the shire.

These are the articles of amendment and reform for the hindrance of adversity and disaster, which shall indeed come upon the realm on account of the lack of justice, unless it shall please God, of His mercy, to help the estates of the realm.

First. On account of the bad government of the realm, relief according to truth and justice, and reform, must be had for the intolerable burdens borne by all estates of the

clergy, and the injuries and losses inflicted upon all estates, both spiritual and temporal, for the safety and liberty of Holy Church, which always before this has been governed and dealt with in such a manner as to be well-pleasing to God.

Item, remedy must be found for the poverty and low estate into which the lords have fallen, to the prejudice of their own persons as of their heirs, contrary to the condition of their birth, and of the laws and customs made by their ancestors.

Item, remedy must be found for the excessive and intolerable taxes and subsidies, extortions, and oppressions, from which the gentlemen, merchants, and commons of the realm are suffering, to the eventual impoverishment and destruction, of those who indeed ought to be the support of all the estates, spiritual and temporal, if they are well governed as they ought to be; and uncontrolled extravagance must be punished, that is to say expenses incurred for the personal advantage of individuals and paid for from the great sums received from the aforesaid gentlemen, merchants, and commons, and their goods must be restored, for the safety of the realm and the bettering of the estate of the faithful commons. . . .

And if these demands can be fulfilled, we have the word and full promise of those who are now rebelling in Wales, that they will assent joyfully to the rule of the King of England. . . .

[Cf. "Eng. Chron.," C.S., 31.]

These articles and meney other the archebischoppe made be writen in English and were set on the yatis of the cite and sent to curatis of the tovnz aboute, forto be prechid openli.

[(b) The course of the rebellion "Eng. Chron.," C.S., 32.]

And this same year, maister Richard Scroop archebisshoppe of York, and the lord Mowbray that was erl marchalle of Englonde, and a knyght called ser William Plympton, gadrid a strong power in the north Cuntre ayens the king; . . . And the saide archebisshoppe and the Lord Mowbray gadrid a greet ost, and wente toward the erlle of Westmerland; . . .

and whanne they were nyghe togedir, the erl praide tharchebishoppe and the Lord Mowbray, that they meyzte speke togedir and trete of peez; and thay wente to the erlle, and the erl hadde there botellis with wyne, and made thaym drynke; and whiles the said erlle fayned himself to trete, a knyzt of his rood to the archebischoppis ost, and saide that the lordis were acordid, and in token thereof they drank togedir, "and therefore tharchebishoppe comaundeth every man forto go hoome agayne, for he shall this nyzt sowpe with the erlle".

The archbisshoppis men were aferd, for ther was a litle hille betuene tharchebisshop and thaym, so that they myzte nowthir se him ne the erl; nothelez thay wende it hadde be trewe that the knyzt saide, and wente tharr way and were disharblid; and the knyzt retourned agayn to his companie. and anon the erl and he, with thair ost, fille upon tharchebisshoppe and lord Mowbray, and took thaym, and ladde thaym to the kyng to Pountfret.

Aftir this the king cam to York, and the citizeynes of the cite cam out barefoot and ungirt, with haltris aboute their neckis, and fil down before the kyng axyng mercy and grace, because they aroos with tharchebisshoppe.

The archebisshoppe of Cauntirbury, Arundelle, heryng alle this cam in haste to the kyng and to him saide, "Sire, I am your gostly fader, and the secunde persone of the reme and ye sholde accept no maner counsel souner than myn, yf it be good. I counsel you that if tharchebisshoppe of Yorke have trespass so moche ayens you as it is said reserue him to the popis iugement, and he will so ordeyne that ye shal be plesid; and if ye wille not so, I counsel let him be reserued to the iugement of the parlement, and kepe your handis vndefouled from his blood". The king saide, "I may not for rumour of the peple". And tharchebisshoppe requirid a notari to make an instrument of the kyngis answer, that yf nede were it myghte be presentid vnto the pope.

Thanne were the archebisshoppe of York and the lord Mowbray dampned vnto deth, and ser William Plympton with thaym, and were beheddid withoute the cite of York.

And whenne the archebisshoppe sholde die he saide, "Lo ! I shall die for the lawes and good rewle of Engelond". And thanne he saide vnto thayme that sholde die with him, "Lat vs suffre deth mekely for we shul this nyghte, be Goddis grace, be in paradis". Thanne said tharchebisshoppe to him that sholde smyte of his hed, "For his loue that suffrid v. woundes for alle mankynde, yeue me v. strokis, and I forgeue the my dethe". And so he dede : and thus they deide. (June 8).

And anon aftir, as it was said, the king was smyte with a lepir : for the whiche archebisshoppe, Almyghti God sone aftirwarde wroughte meny grete miracles.

Whanne the Pope herde of the deth of the archebisshoppe of York, he cursid alle tho that slow him, and alle that were assentyng to his dethe or therto yaf counselle, and commaundid tharchebisshoppe of Cauntirbury that he sholde denounce alle thaym acursid ; but tharchebisshoppe wolde not do it alone.

Thanne sent the king to the Pope, and saide that the sedicion of the people wolde not suffre him to live and sente also vnto him the habergeon that tharchebisshoppe was armed ynne with these wordis . " Father, look whether this be thy son's coat or no ". And the pope ansuerde agayn in this wise, as it was said : " Whether this be my son's coat or no, I know that wild beasts have deuoured my son " : and so be prive menes of money the mater was cesid.

[*(c)* Preparations for pursuing the Earl of Northumberland who fled to Scotland. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. IV, iii. 30, 14 June, 1405, dated at York.]

Commission to Edmund Oldehalle, Edmund Belyetter and Roger Galyon to take 50 tuns of flour, 40 tuns of wine, 200 salt fish and 400 quarters of oats in the county of Norfolk and take the same to the town of Newcastle on Tyne with all speed for the victualling of the King and his lieges in the company going to the north, to punish Henry Earl of Northumberland and other rebels adhering to the King's

enemies of Scotland, now in the King's castle and town of Berwick, and to take ships and other carriage for the same.

The like to John Rochford, 'chivaler,' and John Cok, to take 30 tuns of flour, 25 tuns of wine, 2000 fish called stokfish, 100 quarters of oats and 140 quarters of beans and peas in the county of Lincoln.

The like to John Lyversegge and Nicholas Blackburn to take 30 tuns of flour, 25 tuns of wine, 100 quarters of oats and 140 quarters of beans and peas in the county of York.

[(d) Henry continued the reduction of the north. "Northern Chronicle": Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 282. (Lat.).]

The King then set out towards the town of Ripon, and after that he went to Northumberland and took the castles of the Earl of Northumberland, that is to say, Prudhoe and Warkworth.

Then he came to Berwick, where having after some time captured the castle and town, he ordered Sir William Graystok with many other magnates and gentlemen who had opposed him, to be executed.

For the Earl of Northumberland, whom the King was pursuing, together with his son Henry Percy, had, from fear, taken refuge in Scotland.

The King, therefore, when he had fully carried out his will in the north, turned towards the south.

But before the King reached the south, Sir William Clifford and Sir Henry Percy¹ delivered to the King the castle of Alnwick, which the King, as it is said, was not able to capture either by fighting or by besieging it.

17.

[In the Parliament of 1406 an attack was made upon the administration of the King's household, and the Commons presented thirty-one articles, to which the King gave his assent. Rot. Parl., iii. 585. (Fr.).]

John Tibetot presented in Parliament a Roll containing many and divers articles drawn up with the advice and assent

¹ Son of Thomas Percy, grandson of the Earl of Northumberland.

of the King and the Lords and Commons aforesaid, and requested that the same articles might be enacted and entered as of record on the roll of Parliament. To which request the reply was given, "Le roy le voet," saving his estate and his royal prerogative. And further the said John requested in the name of the said Commons, that all the Lords of the Council take an oath before the King and all the estates of Parliament, to keep all the articles contained in the said roll. At this the archbishop of Canterbury for himself, and the other Lords of the Council for themselves, severally protested, saying that they would in no wise take this burden upon themselves, unless the King, of his own will and motion, should particularly charge them so to do. . . . Whereupon the King, of his own will and motion, commanded the said Lords of the Council to do so, and charged them to take the oath to keep the articles as is above said.

[*Ibid.*, iii. 609.]

And whereas it seems to the Chancellor and to the other Lords of the Council, in the presence of the King and the Lords and the Commons in full Parliament aforesaid, that they no longer receive any reward or thanks for their said labours and endeavours, nor for their said loans, both the Chancellor and Lords of the Council, in the presence of the King and the Lords and the Commons in full Parliament, protested that they would not be bound nor kept to the oath made by them in the last Parliament. And further, they prayed our Lord the King that he would hold them entirely excused, and that they might never be penalised or suffer at any future time for their action. This petition the King graciously granted, and willingly agreed to it.

[Articles presented by the Commons.]

Firstly, that it shall please our Sovereign Lord the King to choose and appoint such Councillors and officers as are well-pleasing to God and agreeable to his people, who shall give him advice and be of his Continual Council until the next

Parliament, and a reasonable number of them shall remain continually about his Royal Person. . . .

(No. 5.) That it may please our Lord the King to allow his said Councillors to have full knowledge and information concerning the state and administration of his very honourable Household, Chamber, and Wardrobe, and of all other places and offices which may spend the Revenue of the Realm. . . .

[No. 6 makes provision for certain sums to be set aside for the Household, Chamber, and Wardrobe.]

(No. 7.) That no man nor woman shall take nor receive any gift from the King, from the 17th day of December, the 8th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord the King, until the end of the next Parliament, out of the Revenues, Profits, or other goods of the Realm above said. . . .

(No. 8.) That it may please (our said Sovereign Lord the King) to assign two days in the week for the receiving of petitions, that is to say Wednesday and Friday. . . .

(No. 10.) That it shall please our Sovereign Lord the King to command those of his Council not to bring before themselves for decision any matters or disputes determinable at common law, unless for reasonable cause and at the request of the judges. . . .

(No. 15.) That the Chancellor and Treasurer of England and Keeper of the Privy Seal, which now are, or in time to come shall be, shall perform their duties rightly and diligently, without . . . taking anything for carrying out and executing their said duties except from the King. . . .

(No. 16.) The same shall apply to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Chief Baron and all the Barons and Chamberlains of the Exchequer, the Clerk of the Treasury, the two Remembrancers, the Clerk of the Pipe, the Auditors, and all other officers and servants of the Exchequer and Receipt.

[Nos. 17, 18, 19, extend the same provision to the Clerk of the Rolls, Masters of Chancery, Clerk of the Hanaper, "Bouchiers" ¹

¹ Cf. "Gregory's Chron.," C.S., 139, "bowgerys of the chauncery," treasurers, bursars. See N.E.D.

and Clerks of the Crown, Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, Seneschal, Chamberlain, Treasurer, Controller and Cofferer of the King's Household.]

(No. 23.) Since Sheriffs return as Knights of the Shire those who have not been duly elected, may it be ordained that there shall be contained in all the writs which from henceforth shall be issued out of Chancery a command that a proclamation be made fifteen days before the day of election in all the towns and parts of the county which shall have part in electing the said knights. . . .

(No. 24.) That all those of the King's Great Council, and all the chief officers . . . shall affirm and swear in this present Parliament, that they, and each of them as far as in them lies or shall lie, will carry out and act according to, and cause to be executed, the Common Law of the land, and the Statutes and Ordinances made and ordained before this time, as well for the King's Household as for the good governance of the Realm of England. . . .

(No. 31.) That it may be ordained and conceded that all the articles above said, and the contents of them in the form and manner in which they stand, may be enforced and considered binding as from the beginning of this present Parliament till the end of the next Parliament only.

18.

[Northumberland left Scotland in 1406 and wandered from Wales to France, from thence to Holland, and finally returned to Scotland in 1407. "Northern Chronicle": Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 283. (Lat.)]

The Earl of Northumberland, who had been Constable, remained for about a year in Scotland with the Duke of Albany. After he had made a sworn compact with him, he left Henry, his heir aforesaid, with him, and went to Wales in order to get supporters; but finding no safe refuge there, he sailed to France, where he went daily from place to place, and from one noble to another, seeking a shelter, but he was able to obtain but little or no counsel or comfort.

At length (1407) he returned to Scotland to the Duke of Albany, where he remained for a very short time. Shortly afterwards (Feb., 1408), he entered England, and came to the town of Ripon, where about eight hundred men joined him. From there he proceeded to the town of Tadcaster. But Lord Thomas Rokeby, sheriff of York, gathered together a great host of the common people, and advanced against the Earl aforesaid on Bramham Moor (20 Feb.), where the said Earl was killed, and the Lord Bardolf captured half-dead, and many were killed on each side, and the others on the side of the Earl fled or were captured.

Then the sheriff of York took the body of the Earl, and the Lord Bardolf, who died soon after they had gone four miles owing to his great grief, and he brought the bodies of both to York castle. There, by command of the King, the bodies were divided into four parts, and sent to different cities and hung up at the entrance gates; and their heads were hung up likewise.

19.

[The hostility aroused by the murder of the Duke of Orleans in 1407, at the instigation of the Duke of Burgundy, resulted, in 1411, in the outbreak of war between the two parties. Both made overtures for an English alliance but Henry wished to remain at peace. Owing to the influence of Prince Henry, however, an expedition was sent to assist Burgundy. In 1412 a change of ministry ensued, Arundel replacing Beaufort as Chancellor, and the foreign policy was consequently reversed. "Brut.," E E.T.S., 371.]

And the same yere came the ambasceturs of Fraunce yn-to Engelande, from the Duk of Burgoyne, unto the prince of Engelande, King Harryes sone and his heire, for help & socour of men of armes and archers ayens the Duk of Orlyans. And he sent forth the Erle of Arundell, Ser Gylbarde Umfrauyll, Erle of Kyme, and the Lorde of Cobham, Ser John Oldecastell, and many other gode knyghtis and worthi squyers and men of armes, and gode archers, ovyr see yn-to Fraunce, and comyn to Parys, to the Duk of Burgoyne, there he re-

sceyvyed and welcomyde these Englisch lordis and alle hir meyne.

And. thanne it was do hym to wete that the Duk of Orlyaunce was come to Senclowe, faste by Parys, with a grete noumbre of men, and foughtyn with ham, and gotyn the brygge of Senclowe; & there thay slow many of the Frensch men and Armenackes and the remnaunt fledde, and wolde no lengir abide. And oure Englysch men comyn ayen to Paris; & there they tokyn hir leve of the Duke and comen hom ayen yn-to Engelonde yn saafte, & he yaf ham gret yeftis. Anon folowyng, the Duk of Orlyaunce sent ambassetours yn-to Engeland, to King Harry the iiijth, besechyng hym of his help & socour ayens his dedely enmye, the Duke of Burgoyne. And than the King made Thomas, his sone, Duke of Clarence, & his other sone John Duke of Bedforde, and his other sone Umfray Duk of Gloucestre; and Ser Thomas Beauforde, Erle of Somerset; & the Duk of Awmarle he made Duk of Yorke. And than the King ordeyned his sone Thomas, and Beauford, Erle of Somerset, and Sir John Cornewayle, and many other lordis, knightis & squyers, men of armes and archers, to go ouyr yn-to Fraunce, yn helpyng & streyngthyng of the Duke of Orlyaunce. . . . So thei ryden forth throughout Fraunce, and token Castell & tounes, & slows mych pepil of Frenschmen that with-stode ham, and tokyn many prysoners as thay roode; and so thay passyd forth til thay comyn to Burdeaux.

20.

[Death of Henry IV. "Cal. Letter Book I," 113.]

20th March, between the hours of seven and eight in the morning, A.D. 1412 (O.S.), died King Henry IV at Westminster, immediately after whose death Henry V, his first-born son, began to reign.

21.

[Sir John Oldcastle had been tried for heresy before the Archbishop of Canterbury in September, 1413, and was condemned and delivered to the secular jurisdiction to be put to death. On 19 October he escaped from the Tower, and was the leader of a plot to seize the King in January, 1414. He was burnt on 14 December, 1417, see Rot. Parl., iv. 107-8; "London Chron., 1413-18"; Kingsford, "Eng Hist. Lit.," 292.]

And in the same yere was syr John Oldecastell, knyght, lord of Cobham, arested unto the Towre of London. And the same yere he brak the prison and wente away. And the same yere purposed the forsayde syr John to haue slayn the kyng and his lordes at Eltham, that is to seye the xij day atte nyght. And that same nyght the mayere of London hadde warnyng therof. And he toke the aldermen and all the wardes of London, and made grete wache that nyght. And that same nyght the mayre toke John Burgate, carpenter, and many other of the same sekt and consentyng to the forsayde syr John. And that same yere the xij day fell vp on the saterday. And the Moneday next after the Kyng whit his lordes come fro Eltham thorowe London vnto Westm. And on the morn after at nygth the kyng and his lordes toke the feld: for he hadde tydyng that the forsayde syr John and syr Roger of Acton schulde be in the same feld the Wednesday next folowyng w^t xxv. Ml. people for to distroie the Kyng and all his lordes. and the same nyzght the Kynges men toke of hem iiij^x and moo of syr John Oldecastell meyne. And the friday after was forjuged of such traytours atte Westm. lxix, and led to the Tour. And the same day xij of hem weren drawe from the Towr vnto Neugate. And on the morn after were xxv moo of hem drawn from the Tour vnto Newgate, and forth all in fere vnto seint Giles; and there was made new galows for hem. And there thei were hanged euerychon. and vij of hem were brent galows and all, and xxix henge styll on the galowes. And the ffriday, the xix day of Janyuer, were iiij moo drawn and hanged: of wishe one was a preest that

hyght syr John Beuerley, the ij was John Burgate, the thirde a texte writer of sent Jones strete, and the iiij was a Glouer on London Brigge. Also the same yere, the xxv day of Janyuer, was a preest that hit syr Water drawen and hanged for treson: the weche preeste, as men seydon, had bought for Cobham as many bowes, arowes and other stuff as cost ix mark. And that same yere was taken the forsaide Syr Roger of Acton. And the viij day of ffeuerer after he was dampned for treson. And he was drawen and hanged at sent Gyles, and there was he buried vnder the same Galowes.

22.

In December, 1413, French Ambassadors representing the Armagnac government came to England and a truce was concluded to last until February, 1415. In May, 1414, Henry concluded a secret treaty with the Burgundians, who had also sent an embassy to England. Negotiations with the Armagnacs were, however, continued and envoys were sent to France in July. "*Chronique du Religieux de S. Denys*," v. 377. (Lat).]

The King of England sent to him (King of France) under a safe conduct, a solemn embassy consisting of the Bishops of Durham and Norwich, the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Grey, and many other persons renowned for their wisdom. The Duke of Berri gave them a magnificent reception; he assigned to them beautiful rooms in the royal palace, treated them sumptuously at the King's expense, entertained them royally for several days and loaded them with gifts. When they were admitted to the Council, and it was permitted to them to reveal the object of their missions, they said that they had come to make two requests on the part of their master: first, that they would do justice towards him, and restore to him the crown and kingdom of France which belonged to him; secondly, that they would give him in marriage the hand of the Lady Catherine, daughter of the King of France. Although these claims of the King were so ridiculous, for he was claiming a title which had never belonged to his predecessors, as is abundantly proved in old chronicles, yet they did not fail

to discuss the matter seriously. After this the Duke of Berri offered the ambassadors some towns, counties, and lordships in the Duchy of Aquitaine should the King agree. As to the proposal concerning the marriage with the Lady Catherine, the Duke replied that that question could not be discussed without his Majesty's consent. The ambassadors withdrew, satisfied with this answer, and promised to return to discuss the matter again. In leaving, they took away with them golden vases and tapestries of an inestimable price and value, which the Duke ordered to be taken from his treasury to be given to them.

23.

[Although the story of the tennis-balls is here placed after the English ambassadors had been sent to France, the more probable date is the spring of 1414, after the return of the first French embassy. The incident is said to have taken place at Kenilworth of which John Strecche was a canon. "Chron., John Strecche," B M. MS. Add. 35295, fo. 266 (Lat.); cf. Kingsford, "First English Life of King Henry V," Intro., xlv.]

King Henry, distinguished for the nobility of his character, in the second year of his reign sent to France certain ambassadors in state, a bishop, two doctors and two knights in fitting array. They deliberated with the King of France and his council concerning a marriage to be solemnly celebrated between Henry, King of England, and the noble Lady Catherine, daughter of the King of France, but these ambassadors of the King of England conferred but shortly with the French on this matter, without arriving at any conclusion consistent with the honour or to the advantage of our King of England. For these Frenchmen, lacking in foresight, their harmful pride kindled, answered the ambassadors of the King of England foolishly, casting at them taunting words, saying that they would send to Henry, King of England, who was but young, little balls to play with and soft cushions to rest upon until he should attain to a man's strength. When he had heard this saying, the King was troubled and greatly

disturbed, yet, in short, wise, and becoming words he thus addressed those standing around him : " If God wills, and my life is so long preserved, in a few months I shall play with such balls in the Frenchmen's streets, that it shall so happen that they shall lose their jest, and for their game, gain but grief. And if they sleep too long upon their cushions in their chamber, perchance, before they wish, I shall arouse them from their slumbers by hammering on their doors at dawn."

24.

[The question of war with France was laid before the Council on 22 September, 1414. Issue Roll, Pasch., 2 Hen. V, m. 15. See "Transactions of R.H.S.," Series IV, vol. i. 167; Nicolas, "Proc.," ii. 140. (The MS. is defective. (. . .), represent passages which are illegible.)]

Where opon oure sovereign Lorde as wel oure lordes as we have comuned by youre hye commandement in these materes and knowen wel amongst us alle with oute (. .) so cristen a Prince that ye volde in so hye a matere bigynne nothing but that were to Goddes plesance and to eschue by alle (. .) weyes the shedyng of cristen blood and that yf algate ye sholde do hit that denyng of ryght and reson were cause (. .) than wilfulhed. Wherefore oure sovereign and gracious lige Lord (it thynkes) as wel oure lordes as (to) us in oon herte in (. .) oon opinion (that it were spedefull to sende) swiche ambassiatours to every partie as (. . esse) and claym requerith suffisantly instruct for the right and recoverir of that is above said. And if ye oure sovereign Lord at the reverence of God like of youre propre mocion withoute oure conseil yevyng ther too eny mene wey (. .) offre that wer modaryng of youre hoole title or of eny of youre claymes beyonde the see and here opon youre adverse partie denyng yow bothe right and reson and alle resonable mene weyes we trusten alle in Goddes grace that alle youre workes in pursuyng hem shulde take the better spede and conclusion, and in the mene while that alle the werks of redynesse that may be to youre viage thought or wrought that hit be doo by

the his avis of yow and of youre noble conseil. Seyng (. . .) that the seuertee of youre real estat the pees of youre lond the sauf warde of alle youre (. . .) be wel and suffissantly purveied above alle things. And these observed we shul be redy with oure bodyes to do yow the service that we may to oure powers as far as we oughte and as oure anncestres have doo to youre noble progenitours in similar occasions.

(In dorso) The counsel of the lords and knights in the Council at Westminster the second year of the King Henry vth. (Fr.)

25.

[Before receiving a definite answer to his embassy, however, Henry began preparing for war. Rymer, x. 160; Rot. Claus., 2 Hen. V, m. 16. (Lat).]

To the collectors of his customs and subsidies in the port of London, and to the controllers of the tolls in the same port, greeting. For certain reasons now weighing with us, we and our council command and firmly enjoin you that you allow no merchant or any foreigner of whatever estate, degree or condition he be, to take gun-powder to foreign parts from the said port without our special command. And this you will on no account omit to do, under pain of forfeiture to us.

Dated, Westminster, 26 September.

The same to twelve other ports.

26.

[On 19 November Parliament met, and Henry Beaufort, the Chancellor, opened the proceedings with a warlike speech, to which the Commons responded by voting a grant for the war. Rot. Parl., iv. 34 (Fr).]

But he said, in order to carry out successfully this high and honourable purpose, there are three things most needful; that is to say, the wise and loyal counsel of his lieges, the strong and true assistance of his people, and a plentiful subsidy from his people. All these things they would readily

grant, for the greater the patrimony of the prince, the more are the charges imposed upon his subjects diminished, and if these things are accomplished, great honour and glory may truly be expected. . . .

To the honour of God, and for the great love and true affection which the poor Commons of your Realm bear to you, our redoubt Lord the King, your said poor Commons, of their free will, with the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, grant to you, our very sovereign Lord the King, for the defence of your realm of England and for the sure and safe keeping of the sea, two whole fifteenths and two whole tenths, to be levied from lay people in the accustomed way.

27.

[Henry then went forward with the military preparations. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. V, i. 292, dated 26 November, 1414. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 327.]

Commission to William Wodeward, "ffoundour," and Gerard Sprunk to take copper, brass, bronze and iron and all other kinds of metals for making certain guns of the king and pots, bowls, and kettles and other vessels concerning William's mistery pertaining to the king's kitchen, and timber, "salpetir," and stone for the guns and coals for making the guns and vessels, and workmen of the said mistery and other workmen and makers of guns, stone-cutters, carpenters, smiths and other labourers and workmen in the city and suburbs of London and elsewhere and carriage.

28.

[Another embassy was sent to Paris in February, 1415, but returned in March without arranging any terms. At a Great Council held about March or April, the Lords agreed to advance the King money for the war. Nicolas, "Proc.," ii. 150. (Fr.).]

A Parliament was held at Westminster in the Michaelmas term in the second year. In this Parliament¹ our said Lord the

¹No mention of this occurs in the Roll. The request was made at a meeting of the Council in September, 1414. See above, p. 31.

King was asked by all the estates and the commonalty therein that before embarking upon any such expedition, he should first, for the honour and reverence of God, be pleased to send to his adversaries, to require of them that they should do him right and justice in accordance with his demands. To that request the King had graciously acceded and had since sent his ambassadors in state to his adversary of France. These had returned, without reporting any success of their Embassy. Therefore, in order to come to terms and accord, to put an end to all the debates, questions, and wars between the kingdoms of England and France, our said Lord the King proposed to his said adversary to moderate his claims to those things which of right belong to him. And since the adverse party refused to concede his just demands, our Lord the King proposes to set forth upon his expedition, and explains to the temporal lords afore-mentioned, that although in the Parliament aforesaid many of them had offered their services to our said Lord the King for the said expedition, with as many of their followers as it should please our said Lord the King to appoint and assign, receiving payment therefor, that is to say for the first quarter, at the beginning thereof, and for the second and third quarters that follow at the end of the second quarter, etc., yet since the sums granted to our said Lord the King as above cannot be raised in so short a time, he asks the said lords temporal to grant him a favour and to agree to take their payments in this way, that is, for the first quarter at the beginning of the second quarter, and for the second quarter at the end of the said second quarter, for the third quarter at the end of the said third quarter, and thus from quarter to quarter at the end of each quarter. To this the said lords temporal, after they had discussed the matter apart, agreed, provided they might have sufficient surety that they would truly receive such payments. For this the King heartily thanked them, and commanded them to be there on Tuesday next, in order to tell him what sureties they would require, and promising them these sureties if he should be able to grant them.

And he thanked the lords spiritual for that which they had granted in their said convocation, and requested them to take council together concerning such aid as they might well give by way of a loan for the good success and furtherance of his expedition aforesaid, over and above that which they had granted in their convocation, and to report to the King as soon as they well might.

29.

[Further loans were promised by foreign merchants. Minutes of a Council held on Friday, 25 May, 3 Hen. V, 1415 Nicolas, "Proc.," ii 165. (Fr).]

At the Friars Preachers of London there came before (the Council) six members of the company of merchants of Florence dwelling in London, four members of the company of merchants of Venice dwelling in the same city, and two members of the company of Lucca. And the Chancellor said to each of the said companies severally that it was customary for foreign merchants carrying on their business in countries other than their own, in times of necessity, to lend or make a loan of, to the sovereign of that country in which they were dwelling, as large a sum as they were able to afford, or else to be committed to prison, and to remain there according to the pleasure of the said Sovereign. And taking this into consideration, and seeing that the merchants of the said three companies enjoy great privileges and liberties, by the grace and condescension of the King, whereby they reap great profits and advantages through the pursuit of their trade in the realm of England, they are required to make a loan on a sufficient security of gold and silver and other jewels, for the purpose of assisting the King to carry out his journey . . . That is to say, the sum of Mcc li. from those of Florence, M.li. from those of Venice, and cc.li. from those of Lucca. And if they refuse to lend these sums to our Lord the King, let them be committed to the keeper of the Fleet prison, and kept in security there during the King's pleasure.

[A final embassy was sent from France in July, 1415, and the ambassadors were received by the King at Winchester. On the fourth day negotiations were broken off, after Henry's final reply had been delivered to the French envoys by the Chancellor. "*Chronique du Religieux de S. Denys*," v. 523. (Lat).]

You know that the King our master sent a second embassy to know the will of (the King of France) . . . after which you came, after shameful delays damaging to our cause, and that you offered him seventeen of the largest towns in Aquitaine with many counties and lordships as a satisfaction of his claims and 850,000 crowns for his marriage. . . . Seeing that (our ambassadors) have limited their demands for their master and in his name, to those things of lesser importance, of which King Edward, of noble memory, an ancestor of our said master, gained possession in peaceable wise, by a definitive treaty, and which possession he enjoyed peacefully and without challenge for some time; seeing, on the other hand, that the French ambassadors have offered but a small portion of these said possessions and will not declare in what manner our said Lord the King shall possess them, it seems clear to him that his said cousin of France has no intention of labouring sincerely and effectually to promote peace, in such a way and upon such conditions as he was led to expect by his letters. Therefore our said Lord, with the aid and assistance of divine justice, must have recourse to other remedies, taking God, angels and men, heaven and earth and all things therein to witness, that he is forced to this by the denial of justice and by the delays due to his said cousin; for he has never held nor will ever hold that the peace so long desired cannot be secured between the two realms by lawful and honourable means, such as the circumstances of the time shall demand and require.

The privy seal of our Lord the King is set to these present letters by his command as a warrant of his good faith in this answer.

31.

[After this, Henry prepared for the immediate sailing of his army from Southampton. Whilst there, a plot to take his life was discovered. Wals., "Hist. Ang.," R S., ii. 305. (Lat.).]

Whilst the King was waiting at Southampton for the coming of his nobles who were to accompany him on the expedition, three of the most powerful of them, whom he had chosen from amongst them all to be made privy to his plans, plotted to encompass his death. If I should wish to withhold their names, they would be revealed in the report of such a shameful act, were I to keep silence. I will say, therefore, what it grieves me to say, and will not conceal the names of the traitors. The first and chief of them was Sir Henry Leserpe, to whose fidelity and constancy the King had entrusted his whole mind. . . . He had as fellow-conspirators Richard, Earl of Cambridge, a brother of the Duke of York, and Thomas Grey, a northern knight. This Richard the King had created an Earl, and had enriched him with many possessions, and had honoured him above the rest by reason of his lineage and parentage. . . . Nevertheless, before they were able to accomplish their crime, by the will of God, they were discovered, and by the judgment of their peers, the sentence of death by execution was passed upon them. Except in the case of Henry Scrope, who is said to have been drawn, the King pardoned them the other penalties which might have been justly imposed by law, and he is even said to have wept at their fate.

32.

[The fleet left Southampton on 11 August and arrived at Harfleur on 13 August. Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 117.]

. . . togeder¹ to the gappe withowte more company; and then owre kyng tourned ayene and let on his hoste and comforyd her and sayde: "felowes, beth a good cher, and ablowe

¹The beginning of the Chronicle is missing. The first line begins in the middle of a sentence at the word "togeder".

yow and be-kele¹ yow wel, and comyth up all with youre ese, ffor with the love of God we schall haue good tydynes". And so owre kyng with his lordes lay to fore the towne of harflete, and the ffrensshmen hadden made a scluse to fore the towne of harflete, the brode of a myl, for to forbarre owre englysshmen fro the towne of harflete. And then owre kyng toke his bottes and searchyd the water. And ther lay owre kyng at the sege til the xxviiij² day of Septembre next suyng, upon the which day the ffrenshmen come oute on safe condyte to entrete with the kyng, for thei may no longer wel holde the towne.

33.

[On 8 October, Henry left Harfleur and determined to march towards Calais. During the march various opinions were expressed as to the likelihood of the French offering battle. "Gesta, Hen. V," ed. B. Williams, Eng. Hist. Soc., 38. (Lat.).]

Meanwhile a rumour was spread through the army by certain prisoners, that a large number of Frenchmen were getting ready to attack us, and it was asserted that this would take place on the Sunday or Monday following, whilst we were crossing the River Somme. As to the manner of the battle, however, opinion amongst us differed; some were firmly convinced, that, taking into consideration the civil discord and deadly hatred which existed between the French princes and the Duke of Burgundy, the French would not wish to come out from the interior parts of the country and their strong places, lest, whilst they were away, a hostile force of the Duke of Burgundy would either pursue them from behind or seize their land from them by conquest. Others asserted, on the other hand, that if the French still possessed their old noble strength and military prowess, if there was any spirit of courage or humanity left in them they would not suffer such a stain upon their honour, which would go down

¹ Keep cool.

² The correct date is 18 September. See "Chron. of London," 304.

to posterity as a reproach upon them, that they had grown base and cowardly and that they had degenerated from their old valour, since they dared not, indeed they feared to employ their military forces against the King of England, who invaded their land, remained there a long time, beseiging and taking towns, and at length with a few followers and a small army ravished great areas of their territory.

34.

[The English met the French army at Agincourt on 25 October.

(a) The Battle. Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 119.]

And in Azyngcorte felde owre kynge faught with the ffrensshmen the ffryday to fore the day of symon and Jude; and ther all the ryall power of ffrensshemen come azenst owre kynge and his litill meyne, save the ffrenssh kynge and the dolfyne, and the duke of Borgoyne, and the duke of Barre; elles all the lordys of ffraunce lay tofore the kyng in his hy way as he schuld passe towarde calys, embateyld in iij^o batayles, as the ffrensshemen sayde him silfe, the nowmbre of lx m^h men of armes, and tho were the faireste men of armys that ever any man saw in any place. And owre kynge with his litell mayne sey well he must nedys fyzte or he myght not come to Caleys by the hy way. And than he sayde to his lordys and to his mayne: "Syres and ffelowes, the yondre mayne thenk to lette us of owre way: and thei wil nat come to vs, lete euery man preve hym silfe a good man this day, and avant baner in the beste tyme of the yere; for as I am a trew kynge and knyght, for me this day schalle never Inglonde rawnsome pay; erste many a man schall leue is weddes,¹ for here erste to deth I will be dyght, and therefore lordynges, for the love of swete Jhesu, helpe mayntayne Inglandes ryght this day. Allso, Archers, to yow I pray, no fote that ye flee away, erste be we alle beten in this felde. And thenke be Englysshemen that never wolde flee at no batelle, for azenste one of vs thowthe ther be ten, thenke Criste will help vs in owre ryght.

¹ Wedde = pledge.

But I wolde no blood were spilte, Cryste helps me so now in this case, but tho that ben cause of this trespassse; when thou sittest in jugment, ther holde me excused tofore thi face, as thou art God omnipotent. But passe we all now in fere, Duke, Erle and Bachelere. Of all owre synnys he make us seker, Jentil Jhesu, borne of Marye, and as for vs thou deydyst on good fryday, as thi will was, so brynge vs to thi blisse on hy, and graunte vs ther to haue a place. Do and bete on faste." Owre kynge tho bad wythe full glad chere; and so thei dyd at that word, lord, knyghte and archere. Ther men myght see a semble sade, that turnyd many on to tene¹ and tray;² for many a lorde ther ryght low lay, that comen was fo blod full gent. By evensong tyme, sothely to say; ther holpe us god omnipotent.

[(b) Reception in London of the news of Agincourt. "Gregory's Chron.," C.S., 112.]

And in that same yere, onne the noon aftyr Syr Symonnys day and Jude,³ that the Mayre shulde ryde to Westemyster for to take hys othe, come tydyngys to London of the batayle above sayde by the Byschoppe of Worseter,⁴ that tyme being Chaunceler, for he come to London erly in the mornynge, and warnyd the mayre. And thenne thorowe London they lette ryng the belys in every chyrche and song Te Deum; and at Powlys, at ix of the clocke, the tydynges were oppynly proclaymed to alle the comeners of the cytte and to alle othyr strangerys. And thenne the Quene, and alle hyr byschoppys and alle the lordys that were in London that tyme, wentte to Westemyster on hyr fete a prosessyon to Synt Edward ys schryne, whythe alle the prestys, and clerkys, and fryers, and alle othyr relygyous men, devoutely syngynge ande saynge the letanye. And whenne they hadde offerde, the mayre com home rydyng merely whythe alle hys aldermen and comeners as they were i-wonnte for to doo.

¹ Sorrow.

² Grief.

³ 29 Oct.

⁴ Wynechestre, see Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 269.

35.

[(a) Henry returned to England in November, 1415, leaving the Earl of Dorset as Captain of Harfleur. Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 123.]

This yere the Erle of Dorset rood oute of harflewe the monday tofor seynt Clement day¹ towarde the place that the ffrensh kynge was inne and the dolphyn of fraunce, the which place was clepyd Rowane. And at pavelen that is fovre englisch myle from Rowane the Erle of Dorset helde is stale,² and ther he toke prisoners ii M^l and xl of ffrenssh men. And my lorde of Dorset had had with hym of his men but viii c in all, and he retornede ayene the thorsday next suyng. And that same yere the Erle of Dorset rode oute into the contre the xix day of decembre, that is ii^o day to fore seynt thomas day to fore cristmas, and browght home w^t him into harflew viii c of churles of the contre. And that same yere oure kyng holde his cristmasse at Eltham. And whan his cristmas was done he come to the toure of london, and there he lay til the xxvi day of feberere, and on the xxvii day of the same month harry owre kyng roode northewarde. And the ix day of marche the Erle of Dorset made a rydyng owt xxx englisch myle into the londe, and he was owt Monday, Todesday, Wodensday and Thorsday, and in the commynge homeward there file tofore hym and his mayne xxxvi c of ffrensshmen ayenst a M^l of Englysh men; there thei faught togeder Wodensday and the Thorsday, and worschipped be god the englissmen had the felde both dayes; and thei toke of ffrensshmen viii c of goode presoners, and a grete nowmbre of hem were ther selayne, and also ther were ded of owre meyne of foles that wolde not be rewelyde what w^t paies and other many ouer, and all her horse and caryage were there take from hem, and many of theyre men were sore bete and the erle of Dorset hymself was hurte. And also the seconde day of April Syr William Clifford w^t hys ffelaweschippe toke the toune of Rowe, that stant on the watere of Dordone. And

¹ 23 Nov.² Company, band.

upon the palme sonday next suyng, that was the xii day of Aprile, the ffrenschmen come downe w^t here vesselles into the maryes of Calais in the servis tyme to have prayed away owre bests, that weren in the marys; but thei were aspyede, and owre englisshmen went oute and toke and sclew hem, what w^t tho that were draynte the nowmbre of cc^o, so there scapyd none of hem away.

[(b) In May, 1416, fresh supplies were ordered to be sent to Harfleur. "Letter Book I," fo. clxxviii; Riley, "Memorials," 628.]

A crye made for comune passage toward Hareffieu.

"Be ther proclamacioun made, that alle manere of men, marchauntz, artificers, or other of what estat, degre, or condicioun, that evere theye be, that willen toward oure lige Lorde the Kyng, beyng atte Harflewe in the costes of Normandy, that God him spede, with corne, brede, mele, or floure, wyne, ale, or biere, fysshe, flesshe, or any other viteille, clothe, lynnene, wollene, or eny merchaundise, sheytys, breches, doublettys, hosene, shone, or eny other manere ware of armure, artillrye, or of othere stuffe; lette him apparaille¹ and make redy betwen this and to day sevenyght their bodyes, goodes, merchaundyses, ware, stoffure, viteilles what that ever it be; and in the mene while, come to the Mair, and he shalle dispose and assigne theym redy shippyng and passage unto the forseid costes."

36.

[(a) Emperor Sigismund was anxious to promote peace between France and England, in the interests of the Council of Constance. With this object he arrived in London on 7 May, 1416. "Brut," E.E.T.S., 380.]

And yn the thrydde yere of King Henreys regne the Vthe, came the Emperour of Almayne, King of Rome and of Hungary, yn-to Engelande, and so to the cite of London. And the maire, aldermen, and scherevis, with the worthi

¹ Prepare.

craftis of Lóndon, be the Kingis commaundement met with hym on the Blake-Heath yn the best aray that thay cowthe, on hors bak; and there thay welcomyd hym and brought hym to London with moche honour and grete reverence. And atte Seint Thomas watryng there mette with hym the King and all his lordes yn gode aray. And there was a worthi metyng betwene the Emperour and the King; & there they kussid togadres, and braced ech othir; and than the King toke the Emperour be the hande; and so thai come rydyng throught the cite of London unto Seint Poules; and there thay lyghte and offred; and alle the Bischopes stode reversed, with censers yn here hondes, censyng. Thanne thei tokyn hir hors, and ryden to Westmynstre; and there the King loggyd the Emperoure yn his owne palis, & there restid hym a grete while, and alle atte the Kingis cost.

- [(b) On 15 August an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between Henry and Sigismund, the French having refused to treat for peace. A conference with Burgundy was arranged to take place at Calais in September and Sigismund wrote to the King of France on 6 September remonstrating with him for his refusal. J. Caro, "Aus der Kanzlei Sigmunds," 111. (Lat.).]

Because we were not able to carry out our desire in person, we have entreated you by letters and messengers sent to you both before the battle with the King of England, and also many times since, and have besought the King of England by our prayers as of a brother, and earnest exhortations, to refrain from aggression, on both sides, for the sake of God, and of Holy Mother the Church, and the peace of Christendom and so that our prayers may be fulfilled. For in order to obtain peace between the realms of France and England, we have often spent sleepless nights, and have turned breakfast into dinner, to see if by ourselves, or by conferring with others, we might find any means of securing peace between you and him.

[(c) Henry gained no military assistance from Sigismund whose interests were centred in the proceedings at Constance. From a letter from Emp. Sigismund to Hen. V, Constance, December, 1417. J. Caro, "Aus der Kanzlei Sigmunds," 139 (Lat.).]

We had wished indeed, dearest brother, as God bears witness, for the furtherance of the welfare of both of us, to have come personally according to the agreement that we might have shown by our presence in what way and how much this business touches us; but we were misled by a false hope as to the shortness of the time in which the business of the Sacred Council might be concluded, and we firmly believe that it is well known, and that your Highness will also have been informed, that continual hindrances prevent our setting out, and do not allow us to carry out our wish.

37.

[The French had procured the assistance of the Genoese fleet. In August, 1416, therefore, Bedford set out to clear the Channel of hostile ships. Nicolas, "Chron. of London," 104.]

In the begynnyng of the forthe yere of the reigne of Kyng Herry the fyfthe, the duke of Bedford and the erle of March, with certeyne lordes and there retenue, foughton with vij carykes of Jene, and with aboughte 1 othere vesselles, some hulkes, some barges, some galys, and some galyottes; of whom, blessyd be God, he toke iij carykes with their patrons, and drowned a gret hulke that was called the Blake hulke of Flaundres, and the remenant fledden there wey: and this was don upon oure lady day the assumpcion,¹ the iiij yere above seid.

[In the following year, however, the Genoese fleet was still strong enough to be dangerous to Henry's expedition and the Earl of Huntingdon was sent out. *Ibid.*, 105.]

Upon seynt Petyr day and Poule,² the erle of Huntyngdon, with othere certeyn lordes and there retenue, foughten with ix carykes of Jene, the grettest that evere were seyn in this

¹ 15 Aug.² 29 June.

coostes, and scomfited them; of which, thanked be God, he toke iij grete with there patrons, and the admirall of them alle was called the bastard of Burbon, with alle the tresoure that they alle schulde aben waged with for a quarter of a yere; and the othere carykes fledden away.

38.

[(a) Henry left England on his second expedition in August, 1417.
 "Chron. John Strecche," B.M. Add. MS. 35295, fo. 270^{vo}.
 (Lat.).]

In the year of Our Lord 1418 (1417) the fifth (fourth) year of the reign of King Henry V, at the beginning of the month of May, about the time of the feast of St. John, before the Latin Gate,¹ King Henry had got ready his ships in the harbour of Portsmouth, and had gathered them into a great fleet, and all other things necessary for the expedition were provided and prepared. With a splendid army of his people he set forth, with sails spread, towards the south (July) and in a short time, the wind being favourable, the King with all his men arrived safely at Touques in Normandy and landed on the shore (1 Aug.). And at once beginning a battle outside the city and its castle, he captured it, and arranged for its occupation. And afterwards he hastened to the siege of the town of St. Sauveur. This he quickly captured, left in the hands of a guard, and hastened to the town of Caen. Here he pitched his tents and laid siege to the town on all sides. But first he captured the Abbey of St. Stephen, situated near the walls of the town, which King William the Conqueror of England founded, and in which he is buried, and shortly afterwards the king captured the town (8 Oct.) and brought it under his dominion and appointed a captain with other guards to take charge of it. Then the King prepared himself and his men to besiege Falaise (1 Dec.), but was unable to capture it with ease, and after attacking it for some time the King changed his purpose in the midst of the siege, and sent his brother Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, to

¹6 May.

the town of Cherbourg to besiege and capture it, and he sent Richard, Earl of Warwick, with his men to Domfront to take it and punish the inhabitants.

And King Henry determined to send the Duke of Clarence, his brother, with his men to the Abbey of Bec Hellouin in Normandy, and to the castle of Harcourt. These two places are very strong and hard of capture, and there is no great distance between them. The Duke laid siege to the abbey and assailed it with violence. During the siege of it, however, on Easter Day, in veneration of the feast, the said Duke of Clarence went to a certain parish church near by to hear the divine office and to receive the Sacrament as the Christian custom is. But one within the town, planning evil, and whilst the Duke was returning from the church to his tent, hurled a great stone from a cannon with force, in order to kill the Duke, but thanks be to God, the Duke escaped it in safety. But the Duke's anger was aroused at this nefarious deed, and he sent into the abbey for the traitor to demand that he should come shortly to the Duke who was greatly enraged. When he had come, the Duke ordered him to be hung on a high gallows before all the people. Shortly after this the Duke took the said castle and abbey, and put them into subjection to the King of England (4 May, 1418). Now, however, a great good fortune befell Henry King of England during the said siege. For, on a certain day, the King went to the tent of the Earl of Salisbury, for the sake of conversing privately with him on certain matters. And whilst the king was standing talking in the earl's tent, near the chief tent post, he bent his head, and some gunner from within the town at that moment shot out a stone which shivered the post, where the King was standing with his head bent, into splinters, and that time, thanks be to God, the King escaped. Then the King gratefully gave thanks to God Who had saved him. And the King saw that the tent was being erected in its former position without any confusion. After this the King delivered many heavy assaults against the said town, and quickly captured it (23 June) in an

attack, and delivered it to a faithful guardian. And after its capture, the king hung eight gunners on a gallows and at the request of a certain cardinal condemned nine to perpetual imprisonment in the worthy town of Louviers, as it is said. . After the siege, the King hastened, in royal manner, with his army fittingly arrayed, to besiege the town of Pont de l'Arche. This is a strong city and nobly fortified. The town is situated on one of the banks of the Seine, and the castle of the town stands in stately manner on the other, a strong bridge over the water joining the two, a bridge built and erected in marvellous fashion over the deep abyss, and a good defence in time of war. For no ships could come up the river, nor was any passage open to the town aforesaid without permission from those on the bridge and in the castle. When King Henry arrived at the place, he considered the position and erected his tents. And the King laid fierce siege to the town from the side on which was the castle, and daily for many days delivered assaults upon it. And after fifteen days the King took the town with its castle, after hard fighting, with the loss of many noble persons (23 July).

[(b) Letter from Henry V to the Mayor of London announcing the fall of Caen. "Letter Book I," fo cc; Riley, "Memorials," 567.]

By the Kyng. Right trusty and wel beloved. We grete you often tymes wel, doying you to undrstonde that on Seint Cuthbertes Day, the Translacioun (4 September), Almighty God, of His high grace, send un to oure handes oure towne of Caen, by assault, and with righte litell dethe of oure peple; whereof we thanke Our Saviour so loweliche as we can or may, praying you that ye do the same, and as devoutly as ye can; certefying you also, that we and our host been in good prosperite and helth, thankyd be God of Hys mercy, who have you in Hys kepyng. Yeven under our Signet, in our sayd towne of Caen, the vte day of Septembre.

[From Pont de l'Arche Henry set out towards Rouen. John Page,
 "The Siege of Rouen"; Hist. Coll. of a London Citizen,
 C.S., 1-46.]

The Fryday be fore Lammasse daye¹
 The kynge remevyde in ryche a raye
 To the cytte of grete pryde,
 And loggyd hym a lytylle ther be syde.

.
 Oure kynge commaundyd with his crye
 In harnys every man to lye.
 With owtyn the border of hys oste
 He made a dyche of grete coste,
 Pyght² with stakys that wolde perysce
 With turnepykys, and with many an hers;³
 Govnnys goode and redy bente,
 They were layde in many went.⁴

[The siege continued till Christmas.]

Bp that tyme there vytayle waxyd scars
 Mete and drynke and othyr vytayle
 In that citte be-gan to fayle
 Save clene watyr they hadde i-nowe,
 And vyneger to put there twoe,
 Hyr brede was fulle ny gone
 And flesche save hors hadde they non.
 They etete doggys, they ete cattys;
 They ete mysse, horse and rattys.
 For an hors quarter, lene or fatte,
 At cs. hyt was atte,
 A horse hedde for halfe a pound,
 A dogge for the same mony round;
 For xxxd went a ratte
 For ij noblys went a catte,
 For vid went a mous;

1 Aug. 2 Staked. 3 Fortification. 4 Passages.

They left but fewe in any house.
 For brede as brode as my hond
 Was worthe a franke, I undyrstond.
 Hyt was febyll that they myght fynd,
 For hyt was made in syche a kynde,
 Ne of melle, ne of otys,
 Bot of branne, God it wotys.
 Oynonnys, lykys, bothe in fere.¹
 Was to hem a mete fulle dere ;
 There of was a pece at a schelynge.
 Welle was hym that myght gete a pyllynge.²
 A negge at ixd. a nappylle at xd. ;
 Suche a market was a-monge thes men. .

.

[In January, 1419, a parley was held between the two parties.]

We than chalengyde and accused,
 And they answeyrd and excusyd.
 We askyd moche and they proferd smalle,
 That was ylle to corde with alle,
 So they trettyd a forghntnyght,
 And yet a corde they ne myght.

.

[A second conference was held however : the city was to be surrendered on 19 January, provided no help came.]

Whenn the gates were opynd there,
 And they were redy in for to fare,
 Tromppetys³ blewe ther bemys⁴ of bras,
 Pypys and claryons bothe ther was,
 As they enteryd they gave a schoute
 With a voyce, and that a stoute,
 "Syn Jorge! Syn Jorge!" they cryde on hyght,
 "Well come Rone, our kyngys owne ryght!"

¹ Together.

² Trumpeters.

³ That which is peeled off, e.g. rind.

⁴ Trumpets.

- [(a) The Dauphin was negotiating early in 1419 with the King of Castile to supply him with ships. Letter from Henry V, P.R.O. "Ancient Correspondence," Vol. xliii., No. 162.]

Worshipful fader in God right trusti and welbeloved we grete you wel and witeth that we been enformed that the kyng of Castel maketh a grete armee of vessels whiche shuld be redy in short tyme as is sayde for to doo the harme ayenst us and oures that thay may whiche god defende and in especiale that thaire purpos is . . . to brynne and destrue . . . oure shippes at Hampton and also thaire ordinance is to lande in oure Reaume for to doo thannoye that they may. Wherefore we wol and charge you that by thavys of oure brother of Bedford and of othir suche as semeth to youre discreccion ye ordenne in alle haste for the governance of oure lande and for the saufwarde of saivkepyng of oure vessels at Hampton and in othir places where as eyre thay be. And that thay of the portes and of the see coost be warned here of in alle haste—charged to be wel awaytyng and redy at al tymes if ony suche thyng happen. Yeven under oure signet in oure castel of Rouen the xii day of Feverer.

- [(b) Later in the year Henry learnt that the Spanish ships were to bring soldiers from Scotland to assist the French, but the English failed to intercept them. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. V, ii. 268, 12 August.]

Commission to the Sheriff of Devon, because the king has learned for certain that the Dauphin . . . has caused divers ships and vessels to be prepared to pass by the west coast of England to Scotland to receive a number of people at arms and archers of the Scots, and bring them to France to fortify the king's said adversary, and the king, with the advice of the council, has ordered an armed force to be at sea on the said coast to hinder this and wishes to provide it with sufficient shipping, to take eight ships or balingers with sufficient gear, each ship of the portage of sixty tuns, and each balinger of twenty tuns and over, without delay in one port within his

bailiwick to serve the king at sea for this cause and bring them at all speed to the ports within his bailiwick, which may seem best to the captains of the shipping.

The like to the Sheriff of Cornwall to take four ships and balingers.

41.

[Henry remained at Rouen until 25 March, and made an agreement with the Dauphin for a conference to be held between Evreux and Dreux on 26 March. "Chron. John Strecche," B.M. Add. MS. 35295, fo. 275^{vo}. (Lat.).]

King Henry remained there in his said castle from the feast of St. Wolstan¹ until the feast of the Annunciation,² as it is reported, with all things ordered and established in peace and quiet. At the feast of the Purification³ however, King Henry purposed to make the ceremonial offering of his candle at the chief monastery of this city, which is called Notre Dame. But the citizens of this city, intriguing to take the life of King Henry, determined to arm themselves suddenly and to attack the King, seize him and kill him in the monastery aforesaid. But thanks be to God, their plot did not remain hidden from the King. For the King anticipated their evil design, and fell upon them with an armed band whilst they were arming in a secret place preparing to kill the King. And thus even whilst they were plotting these evil deeds the King captured them all and imprisoned them. And he sent fifty of the richest and most powerful of them to England and imprisoned them in various castles. And every day before receiving food, as a ransom on account of their crime, they were compelled by way of a penalty to give and pay to King Henry, each one for himself, twenty shillings. And this payment lasted continuously throughout thirty-six weeks as a punishment for their misdeed, to the profit and advantage of Henry, King of England.

After this, in the Lent following, whilst the King was still

¹ 19 Jan.

² 25 Mar.

³ 2 Feb.

remaining in Rouen, he who is called in France the Dauphin, sent to King Henry, requesting him to come to him with four thousand soldiers at the town of Evreux to treat of peace. King Henry replied in these words. If he would give him the whole of France, he would willingly come and seek to find a means of agreement as to peace or war. Then King Henry left Rouen with his army and went to Evreux with all speed where he waited for the coming of the said Dauphin for a short time. But he did not come to King Henry, wherefore the King's anger was aroused, and he took a solemn oath that in all his life he would never treat with him concerning peace except at the sword's point.

After the feast of the Annunciation of our Lady in the month of April in the year of Our Lord 1419, in the sixth year of his reign, King Henry moved his army from the town of Evreux, in order to lay siege to the town of Vernon-on-Seine. He erected his tents and surrounded the town and in a few days he took the town by assault, captured it, and made himself master of it. And when this was known throughout the land, towns, cities, fortresses, and castles in Normandy humbly surrendered to King Henry. After this King Henry hastened with his army into France and laid siege to the town of Mantes. He erected his tents and placed his soldiers around the town. After heavy attacks, he took it and captured it at the end of a month, and he was turned from his purpose. And after its capture he entered the town and remained there for many days. And whilst he was prolonging his stay in the said town, he despatched Sir John Radcliff and Sir William Porter with many other soldiers, a noble company, to the town of Dreux to begin to lay siege to it, and this they began speedily and valiantly to do and delivered many attacks upon it with fierce fighting.

After twelve weeks the town was taken, and King Henry's purpose was fulfilled. Whilst the King was remaining in the town of Mantes, he sent the Duke of Exeter to Normandy to the Chateau Gaillard, a place of great strength, in order to besiege and capture it. When this noble Duke arrived there,

he laid siege to it valiantly with every precaution of war, but in spite of heavy assaults and many endeavours, he was not able to take it. But the Duke lay there for six months, diligently assailing the castle, and triumphantly captured it (November), having effectually blockaded the city and wrought havoc therein by his attacks. And he maintained that castle as a protection for those English, who in the time of King Henry V should fortify the said castle. Meanwhile, while King Henry, as it is said, was waiting in the town of Mantes, he sent the Duke of Clarence his brother into France to the town of Pontoise.

42.

[In June, Henry, the King of France, and the Duke of Burgundy met near Meulan, but failed to come to any agreement. In July a secret treaty was concluded between Burgundy and the Dauphin. Henry therefore resumed hostilities against the latter, and captured Pontoise on 31 July. A further meeting was arranged to take place between Burgundy and the Dauphin at Montereau on 10 September, where the Duke was murdered by followers of the Dauphin. Letter from Isabelle, Queen of France, to Henry V. Du Fresne de Beaucourt, "*Hist. de Chas. VII*," i. 186. (Fr.)]

As regards the negotiations secretly begun between my Lord and yourself, and also the negotiations between the Dauphin and our cousin the Duke of Burgundy, whom God prosper, in these negotiations, my said Lord, you and ourselves, and also our said cousin, have been deceived by the crooked intrigues of our said son to the great humiliation of the nobility, and to the oppression and destruction of Christian people, and contrary to the single intentions of my said Lord, of us and of our said cousin. . . .

Most high and excellent prince our cousin, you are aware, as was declared to your appointed ambassadors who were in our presence at Pontoise, that a new treaty has been concluded between our said son and our said cousin of Burgundy, and that we have demanded a month's truce, within which time our said son has promised and sworn to come before my

said Lord and ourselves, for when he comes, we intend to complete what has already been begun between my said Lord and you, by which means we hope to establish a lasting peace between the realms of France and England and likewise between the subjects of this kingdom. And although the terms that you there offered would have satisfied us there was a great difficulty in our accepting them and concluding a treaty with you, for all our councillors declared that we must wait for our said son, and that if we had accepted your terms and concluded a treaty, all the barons, knights, cities and good towns of my said Lord would have abandoned and deserted us and have joined our said son, whence still greater wars would have come. It seemed therefore that, these negotiations having come to nothing, our said cousin should endeavour to persuade our said son to come before us as he had promised, and which he was delaying to do, saying that he wished first to parley with our said cousin of Burgundy. And after several embassies had been despatched to our said son, Sunday 10 September last past, was fixed as the day upon which they should meet, upon the bridge of Montereau-faut Yonne. . . . After our said cousin had given him (the Dauphin) a courteous and humble greeting, and had offered him himself, money, and his friends, several armed men came out from a hiding place constructed in one of the rooms, and together struck with axes our said cousin who was kneeling before our said son, and there brutally murdered him against God, justice, reason, faith and law, and took prisoner the knights who had accompanied him to this fateful meeting. . . . We intend . . . to assist my said Lord and the son of Burgundy, the present Duke, to avenge this unreasonable and cruel death of our said cousin, and we have already found that the loyal barons, cities and good towns hereabouts, are willing to support us. Nevertheless we are still desirous of preserving peace, amity, and concord with you . . . and we therefore earnestly beseech you, out of your reverence and love for our Saviour, the Prince of Peace, and in order to aid us in avenging the sad death of our said cousin . . . that

you will not allow the delays which have occurred to cool your desire in any way for the conclusion of the said peace. . . .

Written at Troyes the 22nd day of September; and in order that you may be the better informed of our desires, we have signed these present letters with our own hand, greatly trusting in your goodwill, of which we have formerly had knowledge as much from your own mouth as otherwise.

YSABEL.

43.

[In the same month (September, 1419) both Philip, the new Duke of Burgundy and the French King entered into negotiations with Henry. By 5 January, 1420, an agreement had been reached between Henry and Burgundy, and on 21 May, the Treaty of Troyes between Henry and the French King was ratified in the Cathedral. Rymer, ix. 916. Rot. Claus. 8 Hen. V, m. 12d.]

Henry, by the Grace of God, Kyng of Ingland, Heire and Regent of France, and Lord of Irland, to perpetual mynde, to all Kristen People, and to all yo that bene undir our obeissaunce, we notifie and declare that, . . . we have taken a Tretye wyth our forsayd Fader (Charles of France); in the whiche Trety, betwix our forsayd Fadir and Us, it is concludid and accordid in the forme after the maner that folewyth.

First, it is accordid betwene our sayd Fadir of France and Us, that for as much as, by the Bond of Matrimonie maad for the good of Peas, betwene Us and our most dere and moste belovyd Katereyne, the Daughter of our sayd Fadir and of oure most dere Moder Isabell his wife, thoo same Charles and Isabell bene made our Fadir and Modir, therefore thaime as our Fadir and Modir we shall have, and worship, and, as it fittith suche and so worthy a Prince and Princesse, for to be worshiped principally to fore all other Temporal Persons of this world.

Also, that we shall not distourbe, disase, nor lett oure sayd Fadir, bot that he holde and possede, as long as he lyveth,

as he holdeth and possedith at this tyme, the Croune and the dignitee Roialle of France, and Rentres, Fruytes, Proffitz of the same, to the Sustinance of his Estate and Charges of the Roialme; . . .

Also that after the deth of our sayd Fadir and from thens forward, the Coroune and the Roialme of France, wyth all thare Ryghtes and Appurtenauntz, shall Remeindre, and Abyde, and be of Us, and of our Heires for evermore.

Also, for alsmyche as our sayd Fadir is holden wyth divers sekenes, in such maner as he may not entend in his oune Persone for to dispose for the nedes of the forsayd Roialm of France, therefore, duryng the tyme of our sayd Fader, the Faculte and Exercice of Governance and Disposission of the Good Publique and Commune Proffit of the sayd Roialme of France, with the Counsaile of Nobles and Wise Men of the same Roialme, shall be and abide to Us; . . .

Also that we, to our Pouer, shall doo that the Court of the Parlement of France be keped and observed in his Auctoritee and Superioritee, and in all that is dewe to hyme, in all maner of Places that now, or in tyme to come, is, or shall be, suget to our sayd Fader.

Also, that we diligently and trewely, to our Pouer, shall Travaille, and do that, that Justice be administred and doon in the Roialme of France, after the Lawes, Custumes, and Ryghtes of the same Roialme, wythouten personell acception; . . .

Also that, we, to oure Pouer, and also sone as it may commodiously be doon, shall Travaille so to put into obedience of our sayd Fadir all maner of Citees, Townes, Castelles, Places, Countrees, and Persons, wythin the Roialme of France, Inobedient and Rebell to our sayd Fadir, holdyng the Partye, beyng, or the which bene, of that Partye comonly called Dalphin or Ermynak. . . .

Also, that all maner of Conquestes, that shall be maad by Us in the Roialme of France upon the sayd Inobediencer, out of the Duchie of Normandie, shall be doon to the Proffit of our sayd Fadir; . . .

Also that all maner of Persones of Holy Ghyrches, Beneficed in the Duchie of Normandie, or any other places in the Roialme of France, suget to us, obedient to our sayd Fadir, and faveryng the Partye of the Duke of Burgoyne, the whyche shall swere for to kepe this present Accord, shall Reioise peisable here Benefice of Holy Chirche in the Duchie of Normandie, and in the places aforsayd. . . .

Also, that nother oure sayd Fader ore We, nor our Brother the Duke of Burgoyne, shall begynne ne make with Charles, beryng hymself for the Dolphin of Viennes, any Trety of Peas or Accord, [bot of the Counsaill and Assent of all and ych of us Three, of the Three Estates of ayther of the said Roialmes.

44.

[(a) The ratification of the treaty was followed by the marriage of Henry and Catherine on 2 June. J. J. des Ursins, "Histoire de Charles VI," 557 (Fr.).]

On 2 June the said King of England married the said Lady Catherine, and he willed that the ceremony should be carried out entirely according to the custom of France. They went to the parish church, that is to say to the church of S. John at Troyes, where they were married by Henry de Savoisy, soi-disant Archbishop of Sens. And instead of thirteen pence the king placed on the book thirteen nobles. And at the offertory, with the candle, everyone gave three nobles; and he also gave to the said church of S. John two hundred nobles; and afterwards there was a feast with wine in the accustomed manner and the blessing of the nuptial couch.

Afterwards a public proclamation was made that everyone should be ready, armed and equipped on the following day which was the third day of June. On this day the kings of France, England and Scotland, and the Duke of Burgundy left Troyes, with many other dukes and counts.

[(b) From Troyes Henry proceeded to lay siege to Sens. Letter from one present at the siege. Rymer, ix. 910; MS. Cott. Calig., D. 5.]

Worshipful Maistir, I recomand me to you.

And, as touchyng Tydynges, The Kyng oure Sovereyn Loord was weddid, with greet Solempnitee in the Cathedrale Chirche of Treys, abowte myd day on Trinite Sunday.

And, on the Tuysday suyng, he Remeved toward the Toun of Sens, xvi Leges thennes, havyng wyth hym thedir oure Queen and the Frensh Estatz.

And, on Wednysday thanne next suyng, was Sege leyd to that Toun, a greet Toun, and a notable, toward Bourgoyne ward, holden stronge with greet Nombre of Ermynakes.

The whiche Toun is worthily beseged; For ther ly at that Sege two Kynges, Queenes, iv Ducks, with my Loord of Bedeford whanne he cometh hedir; the whiche the xii day of the Monyth of Juyn, shall logge besyde Paris hedirward.

And at this seige also lyn many worthy Ladyes and Gentilwomen, bothe French and English, of the whiche many of hem begonne the Faitz of Armes long time agoon, but of lyng at Seges now they begynne first. . . .

And forthermore wil the wit that Parys, with other, is swore to obeie to the Kyng oure Sovereyn Loord as Heritor and the Governour of France, and soo they doo.

And on Witsund Monday Final Peace was Proclamyd in Parys; and on Tuysday, the morrow after, was a solempne masse of oure Lady, and a solempne Procession of alle the greete and worthy men of Parys, thankyng God of the accord.

And now Englysh men goon into Parys, as ofte as they will, withowte ony saaf Conduyt, or any lettyng.

And in Parys, and alle othar Townes, that are turned from the Ermynakkes Party, make greet Joye and Myrthe every Halyday in Dauncyng and Karolyng. . . .

Written at the Sege of Sens the vi Day of Juyn in Haste.

Your owne Servant,

JOHAN OFORT

[(c) From Sens Henry proceeded to Montereau, which surrendered on July 1. From there he went to Melun, where he arrived on July 13. J. J. des Ursins, "Histoire de Charles VI," 558. (Fr.).]

From there the said kings proceeded to lay siege to Melun, where was the Sire de Barbazan, with many other knights and esquires, who had a great desire to hold out. . . . The English and Burgundians fortified their positions with palisades and trenches outside the town. Those inside made many sorties with much advantage to themselves and wrought much loss to the enemy, indeed they were a large and powerful band and at first they did not reveal their numbers so that those without thought they were but few in number : when the King of England saw how those inside were defending themselves (for this king is considered wise and valiant in matters of war) he saw that one was bound to say that "these are valiant people and not easily overcome".

There came to the siege (Aug.) a great lord of Germany, the Red Duke of Bavaria by name, who brought with him a large number of men, well-armed and equipped. He joined the forces of the Duke of Burgundy, and when he had looked upon the town, he marvelled that they did not make an assault upon it, seeing how it had been bombarded. He spoke of this matter to the Duke of Burgundy, who said that he himself had already suggested it, but the King of England was not of the same opinion. The Red Duke answered that he would speak to him and so he did. The King of England heard him with patience and courtesy, and recognised his affection and good-will, and showed him that the undertaking was dangerous and full of risk, but later he agreed to the plan, and ordered his men to get ready their arms and to procure ladders for the assault and faggots and bundles of small wood to fill up the trenches. . . . Those who kept watch on that side of the city, saw that they were collecting ladders and told the Sire de Barbazan . . . then he ordered forty or fifty cross-bowmen armed with good cross-bows,

the best in the town, to be on the walls facing the Burgundians, and a certain number of the remaining soldiers together with a body of the townsfolk to pour down large stones and boiling fat whilst another body of the better-armed and most valiant of the defenders were to leave by a false postern, which opened out of the city towards the trench. He further forbade them to shoot or enter the trenches until a trumpet was sounded within the city. At last there came a day when the two Dukes, he of Burgundy and the Red Duke, cried "To the assault," and the trumpet sounded, and they leapt joyfully and confidently on to the edge of the trenches, threw down their ladders, and many of them proceeded to descend into them. . . . When the Burgundians and Germans saw how those within the city were acting, they realised the folly of their enterprise, and sounded the retreat.

[The siege continued until October.]

Those within the city were reduced to great distress and suffered from scarcity of food. . . . They had been a whole month without bread, and had only horse-flesh to eat, a food of little or no nourishment . . . those within were therefore forced to accept such terms as their enemies proposed. It was therefore decreed and arranged that they should escape with their lives, and without being forced to pay any ransom or fine. Those only were excepted from the terms who had consented to the death of John, the late Duke of Burgundy. . . . The city was thus surrendered and given up (17 Nov.).

[(d) After the capture of Melun, Henry made his state entry into Paris. "Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris," Michaud et Poujoulat, "Mémoires," etc., xii. 665. (Fr.).]

(On Sunday, 1 December, the King of France, the King of England, the two Queens, the Duke of Burgundy, the Red Duke, and many other nobles) . . . entered Paris in great state, for the street of S. Denis by which they entered, was draped from the second gate as far as Notre Dame, and was a wonderful sight, and the greater number of the people

of Paris who were in a position to do so were clad in red robes. . . . Never were princes received with greater joy than were these, for they met at every street processions of priests, robed in copes and surplices, singing *Te Deum Laudamus* or *Benedictus qui venit*; the entry (of the princes) was at five or six o'clock in the afternoon, and it was night when they returned to their churches. And this was all done so joyously and gladly, and the common people acted in similar manner, for nothing which was done to win the favour of the said lords was displeasing to them, yet most of them, especially the poorer people were suffering from lack of bread, for what had been formerly bought for 4d. in Parisian money then cost 40d., one setier of wheat 24 francs, of peas or good beans 20 francs.

45.

[Henry had been absent from England for three years and four months when Parliament met on 2 December, 1420. Rot. Parl., iv. 125. (Fr.).]

The Commons request that it may please your gracious Lordship, with the good advice and assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal in this present Parliament, to petition, persuade, and prevail upon our sovereign Lord the King and the very gracious Lady the Queen his wife, to return and come to this realm as soon as it may please his Highness, to the comfort, relief, and support of the Commons aforesaid.

It pleases the Protector well, and he wishes it heartily.

46.

[On his return (2 Feb. 1421), Henry made a tour through England after the coronation of Catherine at Westminster on 23 February. "Chron. John Strecche," B.M. Add. MS. 35295, fo. 278. (Lat.)]

First the king made his way to Bristol, then to other towns in the southern and western parts of England. And on his way he turned aside to his beloved castle of Kenilworth, and then visited his manor of Pleasant Mareys, which he himself

had built upon the mārshes. And then he continued his journey to Coventry, and then came to Leicester, where he waited for a time for the arrival of the Queen. The Queen, after she had left Westminster, proceeded to Leicester by way of Hertford, Bedford, and Northampton, until she came to Leicester, where she joined the King on the eve of Palm Sunday, and in that city the King and Queen solemnly kept the feast of Easter in that year. At its conclusion, the King proceeded at once with his followers towards the north. First he went to the city of Nottingham, then to the town of Pontefract. After that he went to the city of York, then to Beverley, and so to the city of Lincoln, where at that time Richard, Bishop of Lincoln, was consecrated as bishop.

47.

[On leaving Beverley Henry heard the news of the disaster at Beaugé, and the death of the Duke of Clarence, whom Henry had left to carry on the war in Maine and Anjou. "Chron. J. Hardyng," 384.]

And at the Easter¹ then in his xv.² yere,
The Duke of Clarence thenemies had espy'ed,
At Baugy then for whiche his menne in fere
He sembled and thyther faste he hyed,

And nere at Bawge came Gylberte Umfreuyle,
Marshal of Fraunce, with v. horse and no mo,
And of good wyt counsayled him that whyle
To keep the churche and Goddes seruyce tho,
And after the feaste to seke upon his foo;
And he aunswered hym, "Yf thou be aferd,
Go home thy waye and kepe the churche yerde.

So rode they furth ay chidyng by the waye,
Tyll they to Bawgy ouer the bridge were gone,
Where the enemyes were batayled in araye,

¹ 23 Mar.² ninth.

Where then they light and faught with them anon ;
 The duke was slayne that day there with his soone,

Thenglishe power came when all was done,
 And rescowed then the deed men where they laye

And buryed them in Englande in good araye,
 Echeone in his owne abbaye or colage,
 Afore founded within his herytage.

48.

[Parliament met on 2 May, 1421, and ratified the Treaty of Troyes.
 Rot. Parl., iv. 135. (Lat.).]

On the second day of May, in the ninth year of his reign, our Lord the King summoned the said Three Estates, that is to say, the prelates and clergy, nobles and magnates, as well as the commons of the said realm, to his palace of Westminster at London, according to use and custom, for the further ratification and conclusion of the treaty aforesaid, both on account of divers reasons connected with his estate and realm, and for its usefulness to the said realm; in the presence of these Three Estates, his Highness our Lord the King, caused the tenor of the said treaty and all and each of its articles, to be solemnly explained and declared in detail by the venerable Father in God, Thomas, by the grace of God, Bishop of Durham, his Chancellor. Furthermore, our Lord the King commanded his Chancellor, that the said Three Estates should inspect and peruse the articles of the said treaty: when this had been diligently and carefully done, the Three Estates considering, concluding, and being of opinion, that the said treaty was praiseworthy and necessary and useful to both realms and their subjects, and even to all Christendom, approved, praised, authorised, and accepted the treaty and all and every one of the articles of it, according to the command of our Lord the King, as it appears, promised as much as in all and each

of them lay for themselves and for their heirs and successors, that their words should be observed and carried out well and faithfully, forever.

49.

[The Earl of Salisbury on the death of Clarence, took the command in Normandy and on 21 May, 1421, sent a report of the English position to the King. B.M. MS. Cott. Vespasian, F. xii. Art. 46.]

My most hy and sovrein lord I yor humble liege man re-comande me to yor hy and noble grace as lowly as I can or may and yif hit like yor hinesse to wite of tidinges from yor lond here blessed mot God be al yor said land stod in good plit at the writing of this and as of yor enemyes I kan here of no sturinge that they make as yet but that woche was at Mount Saint Michell the woche made but esy sturing in to yor land ward blessed be god as yit ffurther more my most hy and sovrein lord I dowe biseche lowly to your hynesse that ye vochedsauf to lete me wit yif hit were yor lust that I shold awayte on my lord of Bedforde in any thing, woche ye have yeve him in charge to do weroffe I wolde be right glad and hit were yor willē for the tidinges is here redily that he is come and yif hit were yor likinge that he stured hederward he myghte not faile with goddes grace to do mochal good an yor enemyes the woche as I here said aren gretely abaised of his comyng blessed be god my most hy and sovrein lord I write no more to yor hynesse at this time but that I beseche almyghty god that he save kepe and spede yor hy and noble parson in as gret wele joie and worship as evre hit myghte best be thoght or demised. Write at Eymes (Exmes) the xxi day of May.

Yor humble lige man therl of Salisbury.

[In dorso] To my most hy and sovrein lord.

50.

- [(a) As a result of the defeat at Beaugé, Henry prepared once more to cross to France and left Dover on 10 June, 1421. "Mémoires de Pierre de Fémin," Michaud et Poujoulat, "Mémoires," etc., xii. 608. (Fr.).]

When the news of the death of his son, the Duke, and of his other princes, was brought to King Henry, he was much disturbed and sent forth a fresh summons to return to France, and he arrived there about the time of the feast of S. John the Baptist,¹ 1421. With a great number of men he landed at Calais and from there he rode to Montreuil and then to S. Riquier. . . . Afterwards, King Henry went to Abbeville, and from there to Rouen, and so to Vernon in the county of Perche. And he was desirous of fighting the Dauphin, who was in the neighbourhood of Chartres with a large following, but he never advanced towards him. . . .

Shortly after the King arrived at Vernon in order to fight the Dauphin, he informed Duke Philip of Burgundy, and Duke Philip collected as many men as he could, and rode to Amiens and from thence to Beauvais and so to Vernon. And he lodged at a large village called Magni, and afterwards joined King Henry. And when he arrived, they heard that the Dauphin and his followers had retreated in the direction of Tours in Touraine. And when King Henry heard that he would not meet him in battle, he ordered Duke Philip to withdraw to defend his own country, and Duke Philip returned at once to Beauvais, and from there went to lodge at Croissy.

- [(b) Henry besieged Dreux, which surrendered on 20 August. From there he proceeded to Meaux. "Chronique du Religieux de S. Denys," vi 448. (Lat.).]

The King of England besieged the town, city, and market place of Meaux. But the inhabitants resisted the King and his army with energy and courage, and held the town against

¹24 June.

him for seven months. At this siege, many of the English died from natural causes, or were killed and wounded in the assaults and combats which took place. . . . The captain of Meaux was a nobleman named Guichard de Chessay, as brave in action as wise in the council-chamber; he was supported by many powerful noblemen of fame, all experienced warriors. But since they were too small a band to hold out against the huge multitude of the English, Charles, regent of France, sent to their help, to compensate for this disadvantage, after serious consideration of the matter by his council, the Sire d'Offrement with a goodly number of soldiers. This reinforcement tried in vain to enter the town. The English barred the way and fell upon them; both sides fought valiantly, and the Sire d'Offrement was captured with many of his followers. The Frenchmen within the town, seeing that they were reduced to extremities withdrew to the market place, which was separated from the main town, and left the town to the English. . . . After the capture of the town, the English entered the mills which were, as one might say, adjacent to the market and the bridge. There the Earl of Worcester was slain by a stone hurled from the market-place, and killed instantaneously. The English and French also met in battle in the open country; the English were all killed or captured, with the exception of one, who escaped death for the moment by the rapidity of his flight. . . . The market-place of Meaux at last surrendered, and fell into the hands of the English as the town had done. The lives of some Frenchmen were saved, others were punished by death, the rest taken to England or to other parts of the kingdom and imprisoned. All the goods both of the town and of the market-place were looted by the said King of England and distributed according to his pleasure. Finally, the Sire Louis de Gast, a knight-captain of the said town, and Jean de Rouves, a lawyer, were taken by water to Paris and there publicly beheaded in the market-place.

51.

[Death of Henry V. (a) "London Chronicle, 1421-30"; Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 295.]

Kynge H. beinge sicke made his testament, apoynted his treasure and jewells to be solde, his dettes to be payde, as well to the pleasaunce of his souldiours as to othar that he owght good vnto in Englonde, and on Fraunce, and ordeyned John his brothar, Duke of Bedforde to be theyr regent and governor of Fraunce and Normandy; and he comitted the kepinge of H. his yonge sonne and prynce to Sir Henry Beaufort, byshope of Winchester, and to Sir Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Excestar.

[(b) B.M. Add. MS. 34764, fo. 7. English Chronicle written in 1440.]

In the xx yere of his reyne, died this worthi king at Boys in Vincent the last day of August save one. Whos body is entired and toubet in Englonde at Westminster, and the same yere at Seint Nicoles day preceeding was borne oure gracios king Harri his son. In whos nativite rongen al the belles in London, and where eny singers weren in eny chirch, ye Maier of London commaunded hem to sing Te Deum Laudamus. And after this worthi prince the noble king, thus decessed the last day of August, this noble king Harri the sixt began to reyne. In whos xviii yere this short trecty was ended.

[(c) Funeral of Henry V. "Cal. Letter Book K," 2.]

The Provision made by William Walderne, the Mayor, and the aldermen, for the reception of the corpse of the most illustrious and victorious Prince, the Lord Henry V, late King of England . . . the Mayor, Sheriffs, Recorder, Aldermen and Officers, and the more sufficient persons of the whole city shall proceed on foot as far as S. George's Bar, clothed in black vestments, together with 300 torches, borne by 300 persons clothed in white gowns and hoods, and there reverently salute the corpse, following it the first day as far as

S. Paul's Church, where the funeral obsequies take place, and the second day to Westminster . . . throughout the street(s) . . . shall stand on either side men . . . with lighted torches and the chaplains of the Churches and chapels . . . shall stand at the doors of the Churches, habited in their richest vestments, and bearing in their hands censers of gold and silver, whilst they solemnly chant the *venite*, and incense the corpse as it passes.

52.

[Gloucester was commissioned to open Parliament and given the title of Protector of the Realm and King's Chief Councillor, but refused that of Regent. Rot Parl., iv. 169. (Lat.).]

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom these present letters shall go, greeting. Know ye, that by the advice of our council, . . . we have ordained that our Parliament shall be held at Westminster, on the Monday next before the Feast of S. Martin¹ next coming, and since for various reasons, we ourselves cannot be present at the said Parliament, and since we have trustworthy reports of the discretion and labours of our dearest uncle, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, we give full power, by the tenor of these presents, to the same Uncle, to open the said Parliament in our name and to proceed in it, and to do all and everything which it there belongs to us to do, on our behalf, and for the good rule and governance of our realm aforesaid and of other of our Lords in the same realm; and also to terminate and dissolve the Parliament with the consent of our council.

53.

[(a) Bedford remained in France to carry on the war. A treaty between England, Burgundy, and Brittany was signed at Amiens on 17 April, 1423. Rymer, x. 280. (Fr.).]

John Regent of the realm of France, Duke of Bedford and Philip Duke of Burgundy and John Duke of Brittany, to

¹ 11 Nov.

all those to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye, that for the great friendship and nearness of relationship which now exists between us owing to the marriages made and concluded between us, John, Duke of Bedford, Regent, and our very dear and well-beloved sister and cousin, Anne of Burgundy, for the one part, and between our very dear and well-beloved brother Arthur, Duke of Brittany, Count of Montfort and Diury, and our very dear and well-beloved sister and cousin Margaret of Burgundy for the other part, and for the general welfare of our Lord the King and of his realm of France and England and of us and our lordships, lands, countries, and subjects, we, and each of us swear and promise to be and to remain, as long as we shall live, in a state of good and true affection, fraternity, and unity, one with the other . . . and if we, or anyone of us, shall require or need, for the maintenance and defence of our honour or of our countries, lands, or lordships, against the attacks of others who wish to molest or injure us, we and each of us shall be bound to assist and aid that one of us who is in need, and shall demand it of us, with a hundred men at arms or archers as shall most please him who is in need.

- [(b) On the following day, however, a secret treaty was made between Burgundy and Brittany, in which they agreed to remain friends in the event of a reconciliation with the Dauphin. Plancher, "Histoire de Bourgogne," iv., Preuves, xxvii. (Fr.).]

Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and John, Duke of Brittany, to all who shall hear and see those present letters, greeting. Know ye that we and each of us have promised and undertaken, and do promise and undertake in all good faith, one to the other, that is to say we the Duke of Burgundy to the Duke of Brittany our brother, that if it shall happen that for the honour and reverence of God, and out of pity and compassion for the people, we shall make any treaty, alliance, or effect a reconciliation, with Charles, the Dauphin of Vienne, on account of the death of our very redoubt Lord and Father,

the Duke of Burgundy lately dead, whom God absolve, we shall not consider that this will in any way cause a breach of the alliances and treaties, made between the said Duke of Brittany our brother and us.

[A similar document was drawn up on the part of the Duke of Brittany.]

54.

[The war was resumed, and the first English victory of importance occurred at Crevant on 31 July, 1423. Wavrin, "Croniques," R.S., iii. 63; Eng. version, 43.]

(The English and Burgundians) put themselves in very fair array and took their way towards Crevant to fight their enemies, who were sufficiently warned of their coming and could also well see them approach from a distance.

Then by command of the captains, when the English and Burgundians had come within about a quarter of a league of their enemies, they all lighted down on foot; now that day was very hot, wherefore they were greatly fatigued with marching on foot, both on account of the weight of their armour and by the unclouded heat of the sun, so that many were constrained by distress from the heat to lie down with their faces to the ground to rest themselves a little. . . .

[*Ibid.*, 66 and 45]

(They found the French) all prepared to receive them in a fair and large company, and they had taken their position upon a hill before the said town of Crevant. . . . The English and Burgundians, seeing the preparations of their enemies, went on to cross to the other side of the river Yonne towards Coulange la Vineuse and then the French descended from the hill against their enemies, making a great show of boldness. So they set themselves in battle array one against the other, and there remained full three hours without doing anything else; and the river was between the two armies. When they had so remained, as you have heard, the English and Burgundians, who much hated

the French, seeing that they made no show of attacking them, advanced suddenly with the ardour of rash courage, and archers began to shout all together, and men-at-arms to go with alacrity into the water to rush upon their enemies, some of whom had it up to their knees and others above the girdle. Then the Earl of Salisbury, admonishing his men to do well, with the cry of "Saint George!" and with his banner before him, crossed the water and went to attack his enemies. . . . Then those in the city of Crevant, that is to say, the lord of Chastelus, and others of the garrison of which he was the head, seeing their succours acting so skilfully, sallied out, very joyfully and with great courage, and fell upon their enemies in the rear, although they were so enfeebled and broken down with famine that they had great difficulty to keep upon their feet. . . . Then on all sides, they began to fight one against the other, but in conclusion, by the vigour, strength, and valour of the English and Burgundians, thus fraternally associated together, they obtained the victory, and the French and Scotch were at that time turned to flight, in which many were killed and wounded, which was a pitiable thing to see.

55.

[The successes throughout 1423 and 1424 were mainly on the side of the English, and on 17 August, 1424, a severe defeat was inflicted on the French at Verneuil. "Brut," E.E.T.S., 564-6]

In the second yere of the reyne of Kyng Henry the vj^{te} abovesaid, John Duyk of Bedford and Regent of Fraunce, & the Erle of Salisbury; Mountegu, the Erle of Arundell, the Lord Scales, the Lord Poynnynges, with the nombre of xij^M of Englysshe men, laid seege to Ivory in Normaundy. And whiles they lay att that seege, the Duyk of Launson gadert a gret host of Frensshmen, and Scottes and lumbardes, the nombre of lii^M, to rescowe Ivory, and to give bataile to the said Duyke of Bedford. But when they herd that the Duyk of Bedforde had with hym xii^M men, thay lafte Ivory, and come to Vernill in Perche, which was that tyme in the handes

of Englysshe-men. . . . Then the Frensshe men chargit the Englysshe men to delyver the toun of Vernill vp to hem, And the said Duyke of Bedforde and all his power were overthrawe and slayn before Ivory. And they of the toun of Vernill wend it had been trewe, And gave vp the toun to the Frenshmen. And thus by this trayn, Vernill was lost, unknowyng of the Duyke of Bedford and the lordes which lay att the said seege of Ivory, nevertheles at last it was yolden vp to hem. Then iiiiM¹ men toke theire leve of the Duyk of Bedford and Regent of Fraunce, and departet from thens hom to their garisons. And they were not passet thens xij lekes, but tithynges come to the Duyk how the Frensshe had geten Vernyll and were therin. Wherefore he onon with the Erle of Salesbery, Mowntegu, the Erle of Arundell, the Lord Scalys, and the Lord Poynnynges, with ixM¹ Englysshe men retournet to Vernyll, and toke thair feld a myle from the toun, to gyve the Frensshe men bataile; but the Frensshe men nor the Scottes wold not beleve that the English men wold feight with hem, for they had redy knowlege that iiim¹ men were gon hom to their garisons, and they were but ixM¹ men, and they were lijm¹: notwithstanding a day of batail was sett. Then oure Englysshe men pichet theire stakes; and on the day of batail when thei shuld feight, they knelit doune and kissit the ground; and then the Duyke of Bedford bade "avaunt baner"! And so they Joynet to-gedris and faughte; and the Duyk of Bedford faught that day manfully with his oune hondis. And whilis they were besy feightyng, the Lumbardes of the Frensshe host comen behynde the batail of the Englysshe men, and slowe their pages, and went away with thaire horses. And on Yong, an Englysshe Capteyn fledde away with v¹ men in his felishipe, and told how Englysshe men had lost the feld; which was aftir taken, and was hanget, drawe and quartert, as he was wele wurthy; for God fortunet so, that the Duyke of Bedford had the victory and the felde of his enmyse, and put the Frensshe men to the flight, and chasit hem to the toun dikes of Vernyll, where-as many of hem were drownet. And when they retournet agayn to the bataile, they

and the Scottes feghtyng still with the Erle of Salisbery whiles thei were folowyng the chase of the Frensshe men. And so then onon the Scottes were all discomfit and slayne, the Englissh men crynge "A Clarens, A clarans!" for cause the Scottes before that tyme [ferede] the Duyk of Clarans. . . .

And when this bataile was don and the Englissh men had the victory, they lovid and thanket God gretely of his grace, And forthwith went to the toun of Vernyll, which was onon deliuert vpe to hem, and had alle the stuff that the Frenssh-men ther-in-hade. And then went the Duyke of Bedford and Regent of Fraunce peasably to Roon, thankyng God of that victoriose battaile.

56.

[The English and Burgundian alliance had been imperilled by the marriage of Gloucester with the Duchess of Hainault, against the wishes of Burgundy, early in 1423. The breach was further widened by Gloucester's attempt in October, 1424, to regain Hainault from his wife's former husband, the Duke of Brabant an ally of Burgundy. Nicolas, "Chron. of London," 113.]

This same yere the duke of Gloucestre with hys wyf the duchesse of Holand wenten over the see into Henaude, for to taken possession of hys wyfve's herytage, where he was worschipfully receyved and taken for chif lord of the lond: but not longe after it happed so that he was fayn to retorne hom ageyn, and lefte hys lady behynde hym with all the tresour that he broughte thedyr, in a town that men callen Mouns in Henaude, the whiche was swore to hym to ben good and trewe, and to kepe the lady in sauf warde tyl he come ageyn: but at the laste they that weren in the forseid town becomen fals, and delyvered that worthy lady to the duke of Burgoyn; and he sent here to Gaunt there to ben kept, but as God wolde for here, withinne a schort tyme thens sche ascaped away in a mannes wede, and com to a town of hire owne in Seland¹ that is clepyd Sirixe,² and fro thens into Holand that is called Tirgowen,³ where with helpe of here

¹ Zealand.² Zierikzee.³ Gouda.

frendes that were there, sche withstood the duke of Burgoyne and al his malyce.

57.

[Gloucester's foreign policy did not increase his popularity with the Council in England, the Bishop of Winchester being the chief of those who showed their disapproval. (a) Disturbances in London were the first sign of the impending quarrel. "Gregory's Chron.," C.S., 159.]

And that same yere [1425] that the mayre rode to Westminster on the same daye for to take hys othe, that ys, was the xxix daye of Septembyr,¹ whenne that he come home to hys mete with hys aldyrmen and with hys goode comyners, or that they hadde fully etc. the Duke of Glouceter sende for the mayre and hys aldyrmen that they shulde come speke with hym; and whenne they come he caryd the mayre that he shulde kepe well the cytte that nyght and make goode wache; and so there was, alle that nyghte, for my Lorde of Glouceter and the Byschoppe of Wynchester were not goode frendys as in that tyme. And on the morowe certayne men kepte the gatys of the brygge of London by the commaundement of the Lorde of Glouceter, and of the mayre. And by-twene ix. and x. of the belle ther come certayne men of the Byschoppys of Wynchester and drewe the chaynys of the stulpys² at the brygge end in Southeworke ys syde, the whiche were bothe knyghts and squyers, with a grete mayny of archerys, and they embaytayld them, and made defens of wyndowys and pypys as hyt hadde bene in the londe of warre, as thowe they wolde have fought agayne the kyngys pepylle and brekyng of the pes. And thenne the pepylle of the cytte hyrde there of, and they in haste schytte in ther shoppys and come doune to the gatys of the brygge in keypyng of the cytte ande savacyon of the cytte a-gayns the kyngys enmys, for alle the shoppys in London were schytte in one howr. And thenne come my Lorde of Cauntyrbury ande the Prynce of Portynggale and tetryd by twyne my Lorde of

¹ October.² Posts.

Glouceter and the Byschoppe of Wynchester, for they rode viii tymes by twyne the duke and the byschoppe that day. And thonkyd be God, thoroughe goode governaunce of the mayre and hys aldyrmen, alle the pepylle was sessyde and wentte home ayenne every mann, and none harme done thorough ealle the cytte, thonkyd be God.

[(b) Bedford was consequently summoned to England and reached London on 10 January, 1426. Parliament was summoned to meet at Leicester on 18 February to settle the quarrel. *Ibid.*, 160.]

And the xxv day of Marche next aftyr be-ganne the Parlyment at Layceter, and that induryd unto the fyrste day of June, and every man was warnyd and i-cryde thoroughe the tounne that they shulde leve hyr wepyn yn hyr ynnys, that ys to saye, hyr swerdys and bokelers, bowys and arowys. And thenne the pepylle toke grete battys in hyr neckys and so they wentte. The nexte day they were chargyde that they shulde leve hyr battys at hyr ynnys, and thenne they toke grete stoneys yn hyr bosomys and hyr slyvys, and so they wentte to the Parlyment with hyr lordys. Ande thys Parlyment summen callyd the Parlyment of Battys.

[(c) The charges brought against Beaufort by Gloucester Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 76.]

Ffirst as ther he beyng Protectour and Defendour off this londe desireth the Toure off London to be opned vnto hym and to logge hym ther Inne, Rich. Wodeville, squyer havynge that tyme the charge off the keypyng off the seyde Toure, refused hym his desire; . . . by the commandement off my seyde lorde off Wynchestre. . . .

Also my seyde lorde off Wynchestre . . . proposed and disposed him to sette hande on the kyngis persone and to Remeve hym ffrom Eltham the place that he was Inne, to thentent to putte him in suche governaunce as him lust. . . .

Also . . . my seyde lord off Wynchestre ffavourably and ayens the kyngis pees to thentent to distourbe my seyde lorde off Gloucestre goyng to the kyng, purposyng his deeth in caas

that he hadde come that way, sette men off Armes and Archers at the ende off London brigg next Sothewerke. . . .

Also . . . kyng Herry the v^{te}, told hym that at a tyme when oure souereyne lorde beyng prince was lodged in the paleys of Westm' in the Grene chambre, be the Rees¹ off A Spanyell, ther was on a nyht aspyed and takyn be hynde a Tapett off the same chambre a man . . . there by the excitation and procuryng off my seyde lorde off Wynchestre, ordeyned to have slayne the seyde prince ther in his bedde. . . .

Also . . . kyng Herry the v^{te}, seyde . . . that, his ffadir kyng Herry the iiij^{te} levyng and visited gretly thann with sekenesse off the sonde² of god, my seyde lorde off Wynchestre seyde vnto kyng Herry the v^{te}, beyng thanne prince, that the kyng his ffadir so visited with sekenesse was not personable and therto not dysposed to comone conuersation and gouernance off the peple, and ffor so much conceyllyd him to take the governance and crowne off this londe vpon him.

[These charges were answered in detail by Beaufort. *Ibid.*, 78 *et seq.*]

[(d) Attempted reconciliation of Gloucester and Beaufort. The Commons request that the arbitrators will take an oath that they will proceed truly and justly. Rot Parl., iv. 297.]

To yat it be knowen to all folkys, yat hit is yentent of my Lord of Bed' and of all ye Lordes Spirituell and Temporell assembled in this present Parlement, to acquite hem, and to proceded treuly, justly and indifferently, with oute any parcialte, in all manere of materes and quereles moeved or to be moeved, bitwix my Lord of Gloucestre on yat oon part and my Lord of Wynchestre, Chaunceller of Englund on yat othyr parte: and for sure keepyng of ye Kings pees, hit is accorded by my said Lord of Bedford, and my said Lordes Spirituell and Temporell, an oothe to be made in ye fourme yat folweth yat is to say, . . .

¹ onset.

² honde (hand)

[Oath of loyalty follows.

A Commission was appointed consisting of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dukes of Exeter and Norfolk, Bishops of Durham, Worcester, Bath, Earl of Stafford, Wm. Alnewyk, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Rauf Cromwell, to arbitrate in the matter. Gloucester and Beaufort agreed to accept the arbitration of the Commission. The award of the Commission.] -

The said causes materes and quereles, by us seen, hard, and diligently examyned; decree and by yassent of ye said parties, ordeyne and award, may my said Lordes of Gloucestre and of Wynchestre, for eny ying doon or spoken by yat oon part, ayens yat othyr, or by yaires or any othyr persone or persones, afor ye VII day of yis present moneth of Marche, nevere hereafter tak cause, querele displesaunce, nor hevynesse, yat oon ayens yat othyr, ne nevere ayenst ye counsellers, Adherentes or Favourers of yat othyr; but for all yees yings and yaim not withastondyng, my said Lord of Glouc' be good Lord to my said Lord of Winchestre and have him in love and affection as his kinsman and Uncle. And my said Lord of Winchestre, have toward my said Lord of Glouc' trewe and sad love and affection; do and be redy to do hym, suche service as pertienneth of honeste to my said Lord of Winchestre, and to his estat to do.

[Beaufort's declaration]

My Lord of Gloucestre, I have conceyved to my grete hevynesse, yat ye shuld have received be diverse reportes, yat I shuld have purposed and ymaged ayenst your persone, honour and estate, in diverse maneres, for ye whiche ye have taken ayenst me grete desplesaunce; Sir, I take God to witnesse, yat what reportes for evere have be made unto yowe of me, peraventure by suche as have not had grete affection unto me, God foryeve hem; I nevere ymaged nor purposed ying yat myght be hyndryng or prejudice to youre persone, honour or estat: and for so muche I pray yowe yat ye woll be unto me good Lord fro yis tyme forth, for by my Wyll I yave you never othyr occasion nor purpose not to do hereafter yourgh Godds grace.

[Gloucester's answer.]

Beal uncle, sithen ye so declare you such a man as ye say, I am right glad yat hat is so, and for suche I tak yowe.

[Continuation of the award.]

Also we awarde, ordeine, and decree, yat in token an proef of full and sad love and affection, to be had and kept bytwix my said Lords of Glouc' and of Wynchestr', in matere above said, eche of hem take othyr by the honde.

58.

[(a) Before Bedford's return to France, the Chancellor desired to know in what relation the council stood to him and to Gloucester. Minutes of the Council, 28 January, 427; Nicolas, "Proc.," iii. 238.]

My saide lorde the Chancellor reherced that how be it, that as greet auctorite of governaille is now in oure saide sovereign lorde persone duryng his saide tendre eage as evere shal be here after whan he shal come with Goddes myght to yeers of discrecion, considering that in his persone he may not yit do execucion, neverthelesse thexecucion therof stonde the as now in his lordes assembled, either by auctorite of his parlement or in his consail and in especiale in the lordes of his consail the whiche lordes of his consail by liklynnesse mowe be called here after to answeere how thei have governed and executed the saide auctorite now beyng in the persone of oure saide souveraine lorde execucion of the whiche auctorite resteth not in oon singuler persone but in alle my saide lordes togidres except thauctorite yeven to you my lorde as by auctorite of parlement protector of this reaume, and in youre absence ye beyng out of this roiaume, unto my lorde your brother of Gloucester after the effect of an act thereon maade. . . . The dangier and perils that my saide lordes and I felen that we standen in if we do not oure devoir have caused us boldnesse to sende for you my lord at this tyme . . . not doubtyng as in you in eny wise but that ye be he that evere

wol as ye have be at alle tymes hidertowardes in al thing that may touche oure said souverain lord or his lawes be ruled and demesned as my said lordes of the counsaill wol advertise and advise you and noon otherwyse as perforth as reson and the Kinges lawes of this his land desiren.

[(b) Bedford thereupon promised that he would act by the advice of the council. *Ibid.*, 240.]

(My lord of Bedford) promitted forthwith in the most herty manere that he myght as it semed in al thing that might touche the profit and weel of the Kyng and his saide roiaumes and lordshipps to be rewled and governed lyke as my saide lordes wolde conseilte hym and advise hym and so gentilly and lowely submitted hym to theire governance and so prayed hem to take hym, and if thaim thought there were eny thing in whiche he erred or myght erre at eny tyme hereafter he besought hem to lat hym have knowleche therof and trewely he seide it shulde be sone amended after their advises and consaille. . . .

Thees wordes and many other gentill wordes my said lorde of Bedforde seide there so benyngly ande goodely that for verray herty affeccion and trouthe the teres spronge aswel out of his eyghen as out of theighen of alle my saide lordes that were there present and herd hym.

[Gloucester did not make the same promise without some protest. Finally, however, he consented to make it. *Ibid.*, 241.]

My saide lorde of Gloucester saying and answeyng as he hadde doone at divers tymes afore that is to say, if he hadde doone eny thing that touched the King his souverain lordes estat, therof wolde he not answer unto no persone on lyve, save oonly unto the King whan he come to his eage. And also such wordes. "Lat my brother governe as hym lust whiles he is in this lande for after his going ovre into Fraunce I wol governe as me semethe goode."

[The Duke of Exeter, the first Governor appointed for the King, died in December, 1426, and was succeeded by the Earl of Warwick. Minutes of the Council, 1 June, 1428. Nicolas, "Proc.," III. 299.]

As toward the charge auctorite and power to be committed to therle of Warr' that is appointed to be aboute the Kynges persone.

Furst the seide Erle shal do his trewe devoir' to the seuer-tee of the Kynges persone.

Item he shal have the nurture of the Kynges persone, in the whiche it is thought furst and afore al thyng necessarie that the seide Erle do his devoir and diligence to exhorte sture and lerne the Kyng to love worshippe and drede Godde and generally norysse hym and drawe to vertues and to eschewyng of vices by weyes and manes convenable suche as his eage shal mow lykly comprehende leiying before hym mirrours and examples of tymes passed of the goode grace and ure prosperite and wele that have fallen to vertuous Kynges and to here landes and subgittes of that oo part and of the contrair fortune that hathe ensued to Kynges and to here landes and subgittes of the contrarie disposicion on that other part.

Item over that the seide Erle shall do his devoir and diligence to teche the Kynge and make hym to be taught nurture lettrure langage and other manere of cunnyng as his age shal suffre hym to mow comprehende suche as it fitteth so greet a prince to be lerned of.

Item the seide Erle shal have auctorite and power to chastise the Kyng after his goode avis and discrecion whan the Kyng trespasseth or dothe amys on that oo behalve or strange the hym to lerne or to do that the seide Erle shal bidden hym do on that other behalve.

[Bedford returned to France in March, 1427, leaving Gloucester supreme in England. The Parliament which met on 13 October was opened by the King, and Gloucester demanded a definition of his powers, a demand which he repeated on 3 March, 1428, at the reassembling of Parliament after adjournment for Christmas. Answer of the Lords to his demand. Rot. Parl., iv. 326.]

We Lords above saide call to mynde, howe yat in ye first Parlement halden by ye Kyng oure soverain Lord yat nowe is, at Westminster, ye desired to have had ye governaunce of yis land, affermyng yat hit belonged unto you of rygzt, as wel be ye mene of your birth, as by ye late wylle of ye Kyng yat was, youre Brothyr, whome God assoille, alleggyng for you such groundes, and motyves as it was yought to your discretion maad for your entent; Whereuppon ye Lordes spirituel and temporel assembled yo in Parlement, among ye which were yo my Lordes your Uncles, ye Bysshop of Winchester yat now lyveth, and ye Duc of Excetre, and your Cousyn, Yerle of March yat be goon to God, and of Warrewyk, and othyr in gret nombre yat nowe yven, had grete and long deliberation and advis, serched precydenes of the governaill of ye land in tyme and case semblable, whan Kynges of yis land have be tendre of age, toke also information of ye lawes of ye land, of soche persones as be notably lerned yerynne, and finally fond youre saide desire nought caused nor grounded in precident, nor in ye lawe of ye land; ye whiche ye Kyng yat ded ys, in his lyf ne migzt by his last will nor otherwyse altre, change nor abroge, with oute yassent of ye thre Estates, nor committe or graunte to any persone, governaunce or rule of yis land lenger yanne he lived: but on yat othyr behalf, ye said Lordes fond your saide desire not accordyng with the lawes of yis land, and ayenst ye rygzt and fredome of yestates of ye same land. . . .

We merveillyng with all oure hertes yat consideryng ye

open declaration of yauctorite and pouoir belanging to my Lord of Bed', and to you in his absence, and also to the Kynges Counsell, subscribed pureli and simply by my said Lord of Bedford and by you, yat ye shuld in any wyse be steryd or moeved nought to contente you yerwith, oyer to pretende you any oyer.

61.

[The war in France. (a) Salisbury had been in England in 1428 collecting reinforcements for continuing the war in France. He left England on 19 July and on 5 September addressed the following letter to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London. From "Letter Book K," fo. 55b; R. R. Sharpe, "London and the Kingdom," iii. 370.]

Right trusty & entierly welbeloved frendes we grete you hertely wel. . . . We do yow to witte that the vure and spede seth our last comyng in to this lande hath be so good that I am ever behold to thanke god besechyng hym to continue hit for his mercye and after the brynnynge of many diverse tounes castelles and Forteresses we laied siege afor this toun of Yenville and after diversez aprochemenes made therto as was on sonneday sevenyght which was the xxix day of August we gate the saide toun of Yenville be the most notable assault that evere we sawe. . . . And so thanked be god ther comyth in dayly places to thobbeissaunce to the Recovering of which we thenke to do all diligence as we behold with out sparyng of labour or peyn. . . . Writen at Yenville the v day of septembre.

Item we do you to wite that seth the wryting of this we have had tydinges from our brother Sire Richard Hankeford . . . that he hath gotten the sayd toun (Meun sur Loyre) castel and people yolden to thobbeissaunce and oure sovereign lord. . . . And to the sayd toun is a faire brigge overe the Gret River of Leyre which ys bot v leges oute of the cite of Orlens.

[(b) Salisbury then determined to attack Orleans. The siege began on 12 October, 1428, and the situation appeared hopeless for the French, when in April, 1429, a relieving force, with which was Joan of Arc, advanced towards the town. On 8 May the English army withdrew and the siege was raised. Wavrin, "Croniques," R.S., in. 261-265 ; Eng. version, 165-167.]

In that year (1428), the siege being before Orleans, there came to King Charles of France, at Chinon, a young girl who described herself as a maid of twenty years of age or thereabout named Joan, who was clothed and habited in the guise of a man, born in the parts between Burgundy and Lorraine at a town named Domremy very near Vaucouleur. . . . She made request that they would give her a suit of armour to arm herself, which was delivered to her ; then with her standard raised, as has been said, she went to Blois where the muster was being made, and thence to Orleans with the others ; and she was always armed in complete armour, and in this same journey many men-at-arms placed themselves under her.

When the said maid had come into the city of Orleans, they gave her a good reception, and some were greatly rejoiced at seeing her in their company.

[(c) Nicolas, "Chron. of London," 116.]

This same yere, the iij day of Novembre, deyed the worshipfull Sire Thomas de Mountagu erle of Salisbury before Orlyons, thorough schetyng of a gonne as he lay at the sege before the forseid cite ; God have mercy on his sowle. Forthermore duryng that sege, at the begynnyng of Lenten neste folwyng (12 February, 1429), vii m of Frensshmen and mo with many a Scot fel upon oure men as they wente thiderward with vitailles be sydes a town that is called Yamvyll, where Sr. John Styward and his brother with mo thin viij^e Scottes that thei were governours of, lighten a fote, and were sclayn every modir sone be Sr. John Fastolf, Sr. Thomas Rempston, and othere capitayns of oure syde, the whiche hade nought passyng v^e fytynge men with them at all

withoughte chartres;¹ but Charles of Burbon and the bastard of Orlions, with alle the Frensshmen sittyng on horsbak seyng the governaunce, trussed them and wente away. Also a lytel before Witsonday nest folwyng, was the forsayd sege broken up be the duke of Launson and his power; and alle oure lordes and capitayns of the same sege disparpled,² that is to say the erle of Suffolk and his brother, the lord Talbot, and the lord Scales with many mo, the whiche sone after were taken everych on at myschief.

62.

[Beaufort left England in 1427 to visit Bohemia. On his return he was given permission to raise a force for a crusade against the Bohemian heretics. News of English disasters in France, however, necessitated his lending the promised force to Bedford. Minutes of the Council, 1 July, 1429; Nicolas, "Proc.," III. 339; Rymer, x. 424.]

Here ensuen tharticles of thappoyntment maad and accorded at Rouchester the furst day of Juyl betwix the King by thadvis of his conseil on that oo partie, and my lorde his cousin the Cardinal etc. on that other partie.

Furst howe be it that the King by thadvis of his said conseil hath graunted his licence to the saide Cardinal to have out of his reaume of England the K' subgittes of the same to the nombre of ccl. speres and mmv^c. bowes to accompanye him to the reaume of Beeme for the reduccion or expugnacion of heretikes there that entenden the subversion of the Christen feithe. Neverthelesse for asmuche as it is thought to the King and his saide conseil that considering diverse greet and grevous adversitees and fortunes of werre happened right late agoo after the tyme of the saide licence unto the K' subgittes in his reaume of France and the greet jupartye that the persone of my lorde of Bed' his uncle and the remenant of his trewe subgittes in the reaume of France and the same reaume standen yn, like to be lost and subverted o lesse than hasty and undelayed provision of socours and relief out of his

¹ Carts.² Dispersed.

reaume of England be disposed and sent heder and that therefore the service of the men of armes and archiers that have endented with the said Cardinal is in alle wyse necessarie and behoveful unto the King. The said Cardinal considering the thinges before rehersed . . . is condescended unto the conteneue of tharticles that folowe.

63.

[Henry VI was crowned at Westminster on 6 November, 1429, and Gloucester was forced to renounce his title of Protector. Rot. Parl., iv. 337. (Lat.).]

Whereas the aforesaid Lord the King on the 6th day of November in this present year took upon himself at his coronation the duties of Protector and Defender of the Realm and of the Church, and himself took the oath at the said coronation to protect and defend the Church and Realm; and after careful consideration and mature deliberation amongst the Lords spiritual and temporal of the present Parliament, as to whether he ought to renounce the title of Protector and Defender for this reason, or not; and when they had heard and considered many important reasons and allegations made on this behalf, finally it seemed to the Lords spiritual and temporal, that he ought to renounce the said title of Protector and Defender from the time of the aforesaid coronation, for the aforesaid reason; he might, however, bear the title of Principal Councillor of our Lord the King, amongst the aforesaid Dukes and others of them, as long as it pleased the King, in all things, and always, according to the form and effect of the act and of the aforesaid Letters Patent.

64.

[(a) The French successes continued and on 23 April, 1430, Henry crossed to France at the head of an expedition. In May, Joan was captured by the Burgundians. Nicolas, "Chron. of London," 118.]

The xxiiij day of May after noon ayens nyght, before the toun of Compigne, there was a woman taken armed in the

feld, with many othere capitayns, the whiche was called la pucelle de Dieu, a fals wyche, for thorough here power the dolphyn and alle oure adversariës trusted holy to have conquered ayen alle Fraunce, and nevere to an had the wers in place that she hadde been inne, for they helden here amonges them as for a prophetesse and a worthy goddesse.

[(b) Death of Joan of Arc. "Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris" (A. Tuetey), 266. (Fr).]

On the vigil of Corpus Christi in the same year, that is to say on 30 May, 1431, there was made a solemn discourse at Rouen before Joan, who had been captured before Compiègne, and who was called "La Pucelle". She was on a scaffold, so that all might see her clearly, clad in man's garments, and there were set forth all the great evils which through her had befallen the Christian faith, and especially the Kingdom of France, as all know.

[*Ibid.*, 268.]

Such foul errors and worse did Joan profess, and when they were all read aloud, the people were filled with horror, . . . for when her evil deeds and errors were expounded to her she was neither afraid nor disturbed. . . . And finally she was condemned to death by all, and was bound to a stake on the scaffold. . . . There were some there and elsewhere who said that she was a martyr . . . others denied it, but on that day, whether she had done ill or well, she was burnt.

65.

[Parliament met on 12 January, 1431. The Lords pronounced in favour of a peace policy. Rot Parl., iv. 371.]

For as moche as in ye Treetee of ye Pees, made noughte longe agoo bytwyn ye Kyngs of noble memoire H. ye V^{te}, late oure soverain Lord, and his Fadre Charles of Fraunce, it is contiened yat noon of ye parties shall entree or make any treetee of Pees, or of accord, with Charles the Daufyn, with oute yassent of the thre Estats of bothe Reumys, yat is to

say, of England and of Fraunce. And it is hold for certain yat oure holy Fadre ye Pope sendeth nowe doune in to Fraunce the moost reverent Fadre in God the Cardinal of Seint Crois, to trete ye Pees betwyn ye king and ye said Daufyn ; and also ye King of Spayn, sent hider but late agoo his Ambassadeurs, which entred trettee of Pees, ye which trettee is yit hangyng bytwyn the Kyng oure souverain Lord and him for yeim, yeire Reumes, Lordshippes and Subgitz : And semblably ye Kyng of Scotts hath send nowe hider his solempne Ambassadeurs to trete a Pees finale betwyn ye Kyng and hym and here two Reumes. And as every man endowed with reson may well considere, it ys nought covenable ne suting, ne lyke to be to the plesire of God, ne of ye world ; a Cristen Prince to refuse Pees offred with menes resonable, ne ye trettee yerof, yf it be desired of him, ye which by ye lawe of God, him owed to pursue and folowe ; and also consideryng ye birdon of ye Werre, and howe grevous and hevy it is to yis lande, and howe behoffull yferore the Pees were to hit. It is ordeined and advised by the Lordes Spirituel and Temporell, and Commens, beyng in yis present Parlement, that my Lordes Bedford and Gloucestr', and my Lord Cardinall, and oyer of ye Kynggs blood, and of his Counseill, may trete ye Pees on ye kynggs behalf, with ye saide parties, or any oyer ; and yf yeim thynke ye menyys of Pees offred by yat oyer partyes, convenable and good to ye Kyng and his subgitz, yenne to receive hem ; and semblably to offre for ye Kyngges partie menis yat shal be thought to hem covenable and expedient, and by swich menyys to conlude and accede ye Pees, to Goddis plesira.

[Coronation of Henry VI in Paris, 16 December, 1431. "Brut,"
E.E.T.S. 457.]

And then Kyng Henry was brought from Caley's thurgh Normandy, to the cite of Roan, with strenght of his lordes, and with men of armes and archers ; and there the kyng abode

and rested him in the Castell and the Cite of Roan, from Seint Iames tyde the Apostell¹ vnto the second day of Decembre. . . . And when Kyng Henry the Sext was goon from the Cite of Roan towards the Cite of Parys, and first to Seint Denys the ij day of Decembre; and there he was worthely receyued as euer was any kyng to any Cite; and the village cleped "Chapell," betwene Seint Denys and Parys, there mette with the Kyng and his lordes, the Provost of Parys, with the marchauntez, and ij other estates with hem, clothed in oon sute, in rede fyne saten crymsyn furred with martions, and with blewe hodes, to a grete notable nombre. . . .

And then the Saterday, the xv day of Decembre, the Kyng come on the after-none from Boys in Vyncent vnto the palays of Parys; and he rested hym there all that nyght. And the next morowe, the Sonday, was he brought worthely from the palyce to the Chirche of oure Lady in Parys; and there he was crowned Kyng of Fraunce by the Cardinall, the Bisshop of Winchestre and other English Bisshoppes, and of vi of the worthiest Bisshoppes of Fraunce. And this coronacion was worthely doon, with all the solempnite that myght be doon and ordeyned. . . .

And within xiiij dayes after, the Kyng come ouer the sea into England, and landed at the toune of Dover in Kent.

67.

[Gloucester took the opportunity of the absence of the King, Bedford, and the Bishop of Winchester to renew his demand for the resignation by the latter of his see since his promotion to the Cardinalate. Beaufort addressed the following letter to the Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of London, on 13 April, 1432. R. R. Sharpe, "London and the Kingdom," 374, from "Letter Book K," fo. 105.]

My ryght trusty and with al myn herte entierly well loved frendis I grete yow wel as hertily as I can. . . . Wol ye wite that nought withstanding divers aduersitees that I soeffre

¹ 25 July.

ayeinst Reson and gentilesse I hadde pourposed me to have
goon to the court of Rome to doo the duetee that loongeth to my
astat. . . . Nevertheless as in to this tyme I feele right littel
or noon as me thenketh. And therefore nought withstanding
that oure holy fadre hath sent un to me for to come to hym in
haste I wol leeve al thing for a tyme and retourne again into
engeland and bee ther yif god wol a boutte the bigynnyng of
this parlement to knowe the causes why I am thus straungely
demeened and declare my self as a man that have nought
deserved soo to be treted. . . . Written att the good toun of
Gaunt the xiii^e day of Averil.

[Beaufort defended himself against the attacks of Gloucester in the
Parliament of May, 1432, and the result was a victory for the
Cardinal. Rot. Parl., iv. 390-2.]

68.

[Bedford returned to England in June, 1433, and in the Parliament
held in July, the Commons petitioned that he would remain in
England. Rot. Parl., iv. 423.]

Memorandum yat ye XXIIII day of Novembr, ye Communys
of ye land apperyng before ye Kyng in yis his present parle-
ment, made to be saide to hym by yaire Speker, yat yei among
hem had communid and considerid, yat howe were it, yat
atte ye tyme of ye decesse of ye Kyng, of noble memorie his
Fayer, yat was our soverain Lorde, ye obeysaunce yat he had
in ye Reme of Fraunce, and in y^e places and Cuntreys
conquerid and gotten by hym yere, was right tendre, yong
and grene; and, ye hertis of ye people yer, noght so fermid,
stablished, and assurid, in affection, love and trouth, to ye
Kyng be contynuaunce of any tyme, as with Goddes grace yai
be now; and yat fewe English men abode, or wolde abyde
yo yere, for ye greet perile, yat yai sawe in abiding yere;
my Lorde of Bedford, for ye love and trouth yat he had
unto yo Kyng, and to ye Worship and wele of hym,
abode yo stille yere, to grete jupardie and aventure of his
persone . . . and by his grete wisdom and manhede, with
long contynuyd labour, peril, aventure of his persone, hath

nobly doon his devoir, . . . and chevid many greet and faire things, worthi to be had in perpetuell remembraunce; and in especial, ye Batayle of Vernule . . . ye abidyng of my saide Lorde of Bedford in yis lande so blessidly and so well disposid, as thankid by God he is, shulde bee oon ye grettest seurte yat coude be thought, to ye wellfare of ye Kynges noble persone, and also to the good and restfull governaile and kepyng, as well of this lande inward, as of ye Kynges landes outward.

[After deliberation with the Lords the King asked Bedford to remain in England. He answered as follows.]

He was bashid yerof, heryng ye grete recomendation yat ye saide Communys gafe hym . . . neveryelees he woll with all his herte, be as redy atte ye Kynges commaundement to do him service, suche as shall lye in his power, as well in yis lande as in oyer places, as shall any suget yat the Kyng hath.

69.

[Report of feeling in England towards the Burgundian alliance. From a letter from Hue de Lannoi, Ambassador in England, 18 July, 1433, to the Duke of Burgundy. Stevenson, "Letters and Papers," R.S. II, i. 218. (Fr.).]

As regards the disposition in which we have for the most part found all those of the kingdom, truly at our arrival they were generally almost all of them ill-affected, and we were received at the first unkindly enough. But, after what we have heard, we have come to the conclusion that things have become considerably softened down; and to write to you truly, we have not by any means found that they intend to make any treaties or enterprises to the prejudice of you or your country; but we hold it as a truth that they desire to continue in love and goodwill towards you and your said country. . . .

We have heard it said in England that the marriage of the King and of the daughter of the Dauphin has been hurried on by certain persons; but we have not been able to ascertain that anything will be done therein.

[Gloucester was still anxious to continue the war, and his proposals were put before the Council for consideration, April, 1434. Nicolas, "Proc.," iv. 213.]

On 5 May in the 12th year the following was read before the Lords of the King's great Council in the house of the council in Parliament ("in domo consilii parliamenti").

To you oure soverain lord. We your most humble liege men and subgites comen by your comandement to this your greet consail for oure discharge and acquitaille to God to your highnesse and to your subgites of bothe your reaumes with all humblesse shewe, how that but late agoo it lyked the hiegh and myghty Prince my Lord of Gloucestre your uncle furst by mouthe and afterward by wrytyng to make an offre of service to be doo by hym in your reaume of France to your hieghnesse if it lyked you in the manere and forme specified and contened at longe in the foresaid wrytyng the whiche offre if it had be or were possible to be put in execucion shuld with Goddes grace have be of greet availle and discharge to you, to this your reaume and to alle yor subgities of the same. But how be it that after diligent deliberacion and advis had upon the seid offre and labur dun to have founde the menes servyng therto, noon of the lordes, knyghtes, or squiers called by your hieghnesse to your seid greet consail coude se or fynde the weyes ne the menes by the whiche the seide offre myght be put in execucion in so hasty tyme as it needeth for the defense of your lordships and subgittes and restrayning of your ennemies the whiche as ye be daily certified from your consail and subgittes on the other side of the see be disposed to be in greet puissance on the feld in right hasty tyme, namely the meenes of getyng of the greet somme of good, that is to say, of xlviij. or l.m^{li}. to the whiche somme the seid viage wold drawe in wages rewardes and shippingg or thereabouts. For as your commissioners ordeyned in every shire of your land but late agoo to borowe can wel reporte upon your juelx the whiche be not so many as we wold

men wol not lene seying the vexacion that men to whome thei have be leid have had for theim afore this tyme. . . . And over this as it hath ben clerely shewed by your Tresour the seid groundes left to you be ful fer fro the seid some or fro half therof so that impossibilitie of fyndyng of the forseid weyes and meenes as for this tyme and nought negligence, ne lak of tendernes in us your trewe liege men and subgittes that desire with all our herts there were oure possibilitie, to the discharge of your hieghnesse and of all your subgittes as God knoweth . . . we your seid trewe liege men and subgittes besechen your hieghnesse in the humblest wise that yf my seid lord your uncle of Gloucester or eny other persone can fynde the weyes and menes by the wiche the seid offre may be put in feet¹ to thavaile of you and of your lande, that he wol opene and shew hem, to that ende that thei may effectuely be entended to.

71.

[Gloucester's proposals not being accepted, Bedford made suggestions as to the means of carrying on the war (Nicolas, "Proc.," iv. 222-229), and in July left England for France. Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 137.]

And in that same grete wynter the comens of Normandy all abought cane,² what in besyn (?), and in the valey of Mortem,³ roos vp all att onys, and leyd sege vnto the tovne and castell of cane vnto the nombre of x m^l. curll with many jentell of the same contre. And in the tovne beyng that tyme Sir Richard of haryngton capteyn of the tovne and castell. And Sir John ffalstolff, that tyme beyng in the tovne of alenson, herd how that the sege whas leyd vnto the tovne of cane, he hied him theder with vi^{xx} men; and ffell vpon her wacche by nyght and slew many of hem, and cam into the tovne and so resecevyd the tovne. In the mene tyme the erll of Arondell, the lorde Talbot with many knyghtes and squyers to the number of iiij m^l, cam theder, for the duke of lanson was in that marches and seyde that he wolde have fought. And whan

¹ Action.² Cæn,³ Morfain,

the Engelisshe lordys were come thader he fled away befor
 ther kommyng; and yet the duke had a x m^l men with him
 and the Englysshe lordes were not ffully of iiij^e. men. And
 then the erll of Arondell sett gouernance in that contre and
 tokyn all wepyn from hem, and weren sworne ayen unto the
 kyng and haddyn new bylletes euery man. . . . And (the)
 iiij. day of May the erll of Arondell with a (fayre) maine went
 before Garboray in bevoissins¹ for (to lay) sege vnto the seyde
 towne; for poton² and (la hire) had fortified vp the sayde
 place and weryn therin with a vi m^l. men. And the erlls
 men went abowght and sawtyd the placys ffast by. And so
 the erle whas left with a fewe meyne; and poton and la hire
 sawgh how that the erlles meyne weren all from him but a
 fewe vn to the number of iiij^e., and they weren wary of rideng
 of all the nyght, and the footmen weryn not yet i-kom vn to
 them . . . and so potton and la hire with all her meyne
 com owte at onys owte of the towne on horsebak with vic-
 men, and so the erll whas . . . takyn presoner . . . and
 many moo . . . and ij^e weren slayn.

72.

[In August, 1435, a Congress was opened at Arras to discuss terms of
 peace. The English proposals not being accepted, they withdrew
 from the Congress and a treaty was concluded between the King
 of France and the Duke of Burgundy. Wavrin, "Croniques,"
 R.S., iv. 85. (Fr.).]

Shortly after the ambassadors of the King of England had
 left the town of Arras, as has been said in the preceding
 chapters, and had returned to their country of England, with-
 out concluding any peace or agreement with the French, the
 two other parties who had remained at Arras, that is to say
 the French and Burgundians, reopened the conference in the
 accustomed place, where they deliberated and discussed much
 concerning many things; and by the exhortation of the two
 Cardinals of Cyprus and St. Crois and of many prelates and

¹ Gerberoy in the Beauvoisin.

² Pothon de Xaintrailles.

other notable people present at the conference from both sides, they agreed to make a final peace between King Charles on the one side and the Duke Philip of Burgundy on the other, as appears at length in all the chronicles of France, dealing with this time, and great and handsome reparations were made and promised to Duke Philip of Burgundy for the murder of his father the Duke John, by King Charles of France, in order to bring about this peace. And this peace caused great displeasure to the King of England and to all his prelates, princes, and barons, and to the whole council of England, but especially to the said Cardinal of Winchester, and to those who had been with him at the said congress, where many fair offers had been made to them, which they would never accept, and always refused, wherefore they were much troubled when the French made peace with the Duke of Burgundy, whom they feared much, and in truth he was one of the most powerful maintainers of the war against the English.

73.

[Breach between England and Burgundy. (a) The alliance between England and Burgundy being thus at an end, the Duke proceeded to lay siege to Calais in June, 1436. Letter from Calais to the Mayor of London. "Letter Book K," fo. 148; J. Delpit, "Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre," i. 252.].

To right worshipfull and discrete seres, the maire and aldermen of the cite of London.

Fful worshipfull, wise and discrete sires . . . we sende to yow at this time, how th' Armynakz that ben in Rewe¹ prese fast, and han praysed aboute Same de boys,² and takyn mony prisonners, and brent the toun of Staples,³ and as it is said of presumption they purpose and avaunte to override the lordshipes heere of Guysnes and other, and to renne here afore this tounn, so ferforth that the pore tenauntz forsake the land

Rue, recaptured by the French from the English, May, 1435.

² Samer au Bois, near Boulogne.

³ Etaples.

and drawe theim into the said toun and castelx, and leve the villages desolate, the which, yef thei were destruyed, that God defende, were pryved of one sustenance of levying and conforte, and the people anyentysede fo evyr. . . .

Wryten at Cales, the xxvii day of junyn.

Your oune the maire and aldermen of the tounn of Cales.

[(b) Siege of Calais, 1436. "Brut," E.E.T.S., 573-82.]

In the xiiij yere of the reyn of the said Henry the vte, Humfrey, Duyke of Gloucester, Protectour and Deffendour of Englonde was made Capteyn of Caleis. . . . Then come tithynges ich day more and more of the seege comyng to Caleis. . . . And thai fornfiet the walles, toures, and dikes on ich a side of the tounne, with-in and with-out, And dresset theire topes and theire gunnes to shote both hye and lowe. . . . Then Humfrey, Duyke of Gloucester, Protectoure and Deffendoure of Englonde and Capteyn of Caleis and of Guysnes, send for al the lordes of the Reame, both spirituall and temperell, and for all his feede men, and desired of hem an eyde for the rescowe of the saide tounne of Caleis. And the lordes temperall hem graunted to go with hym hem-self in propur person, and fynde a certeyn meyny with hem vppon theire oune cost; And bishoppis, Abottes and priours also graunted to fynde a certeyn meyny to go with hym; And al his feede men hym graunted eke to go with hym; And he thonket all.

[The castles of Oye, Marck, Guisnes, and Sandgate surrendered to the Flemings and Picards.]

Philippe, Duyk of Burgoyne lay still all this while with his host of Flemmynges, before Caleis; and thei of the tounne had letten in the see, and drownet al the cuntre about hem. And ich day thai of the toun and the Flemmynges skarmyschet togedris. And when thai had leyn ther xiiij daies, the Duyke lete ordeyn xx shippis out of Flaundres, wherof vi old shippes were lade with hard ston, chalke and brekes masont in hem with mortar to droune hem in the haven of Caleis, that no shippis shuld come ther-in. And when it was full see, about

noone, they bulgit hem, some in the haven-mouthe, and some besides the haven, to no purpos; for thei durst not tary, nor thei had no gret leysere to droun hem, for fere of gunshotte; And so thei went theire way ageyn; and on the next day after, at lowe water, wel was hym of the toun that myght bring an ax to breke the shippis; and so thai did, al to peces, and broughte hem in-to toune. . . . And whilis this was in doying I thowsand Flemmynges stoden on the downes and beheld it and were full sory in theire hertes, and were full gretely therwith abasshit; for thai had wend ther shuld no shippis have comen in the haven afterward.

[After further English successes, and thinking that the Duke of Gloucester had arrived, Philip determined to abandon the siege.]

Wherefore the Duk and they of Gaunt brake up theire tentes sodeynly and priuely, and went over Gravenyng water that same nyght, and laft behynd hem much of theire vitaile and of their ordynaunce; and gunnes were founden beried under the erthe.

74.

[Provisions made in the event of an attack on Guisnes by the Duke of Burgundy. Minutes of the Council, c. 18 November, 1437. Nicolas, "Proc.," v. 73.]

Yif the Duc of Bourg' come to Guysnes as it is supposed how that it shal be purveied for the rescowyng therof.

Stourton, Cromwell. Commissions (the worthiest that beth in the shires) of the moustres in the countrees to trete with suche people as thei may gete. Also that men of court in innes of courte be warned to be arraied, the commisioners to retourne and who of the shire sholde have the ledyng of the owne shire. Wages for a moneth.

Suffolk. The comissione to seye to serve the K'. on foote under suche Lordes as the K'. wol depute for the wages of a moneth or more as it shal lyke the K'. . . .

Chancellor. A prive seal to be directed unto the commissions to shewe how nedeful Caleys be to this land and how

necessarie Guyynes is for the defense of Caleys and with other suche motives, etc. . . .

Yif the cappitain in this partie were knowe the people wolde the rather come.

Also that thei come upon deliverance of wages.

Lettres to the townes.

Noyse shal doo goode in the contrey.

Commision general. The K'. is enfourmed that the gentilmen of this land bethe oute of arraye.

Armurers and bowers in London to be set a werk. . . .

Lordes and citees and boroughes to be treted yif the cas happen.

Men to be maade knyghtes after the fourme of the statut.

75.

[By 1439 the English were inclining towards peace, and ambassadors were sent to Calais with the following instructions. Negotiations between England and France. (a) Nicolas, "Proc.," v. 354; Rymer, x. 726.]

First the said ambassadours shal in suche maner and forme as shal be thought covenable aske and opene as for the most reasonable mene of peas that the adverse partie cesse and forbere to yeve from this tyme forth any let trouble or empechement on to the Kyng in occupacion and rejoising of his coronne and reme of France. . . . And if thambassatours of the adverse parte straunge hem to entende to this request, the Kynges said ambassatours shal after, under protestacion to be made by hem in forme accustomed . . . offre his said adversaire landes lordshippes and possessions beyonde the ryvere of Leyre to have to him and theires of his body, that ys to say, the contre of Langdoke and other landes, and lordshippes beyond the said river belongyng to the said coronne to the valeu in demayne and revenue ordinarie and extraordinarie of xx^{ml}. li yerly, to be holde of the Kyng asyn the ryght of his said coronne of Fraunce.

Item, if that other partie wol not contente hem with the

said offre ne condescende to the peas thereby, the most reverent fadir in God my Lord the Cardinal shal mowe as a prelate of the cheurche and as a mediatour and a sterer to the peas remembre how thys werryys that haue be mad'in and for the title and claime of the coroune of France betwix the princes that have strived ther upon have endured this hondred yere and more, and that there haan be moo men slayne in the continuence of hem of oo nacion and other that been at thus day in bothe landes and so moch Christen blode shede. . . .

And of this exhortacion shal the Kinges ambassatours take occasion to . . . make . . . the offre that folewith, that is to say, that the Kyng our said souverain lord wol and shal suffre agre him and consente that . . . his said adversaire shal have holde and rejoisse to hem and to his heirs al the part of France belonging to the coroune of France that is beyond the river of Leyers, noght comprehending therinne but expressly reserving to the Kyng and to his heirs, the duchie of Guyenne, the conte of Poetowe. . . .

And after this offre thus made the Kinges said ambassatours shal mowe by processe enlarge the said offre, reservyng no mor to the Kyng beyonde the forsaide river of Leyre but that the kyng now standith or shal stande possessid of at the day of agrement of thadversaire to the said offre. . . .

And (if) the ambassatours of the other partie contente hem noght with offres nexte afor rehersed . . . the Kyng wol content hem to have to hym and to his heirs, all the cuntres lordshippes landes possessions-rentes and revenues with all ther ryghtes and appertenentz that his noble progenitours the Kyng(s) of England haan had rejoissed and be possessed of, noght as Kynges of France, but in thair owne propre and prive right . . . the tounes and marches of Caleis comprehended thereinne, the conte chastel and lordshipp of Guysnes and other in the same marches, accordyng to the limites and bondes specified in the trete of Bretaygne.

[(b) On Gloucester's advice, the terms offered by the French, that the English should keep their possessions in Guienne, Calais, and Normandy, excluding Mt. S. Michel, were rejected. The Cardinal was in favour of a peace policy. Stevenson, "Letters and Papers," R.S., ii. 446-51, 1440.]

To the whiche mater in youre saide presence (King Henry), thereafter that it had liked yow to aske myn advice therupon, with other lords of youre bloode and counsaile, I (Gloucester) answered and saide that I wolde never agre me therto, to dye therfore; and of the same disposicion I am yeet, and wol be whilst I lyve, in conservacion of youre honneur and of youre ooth made to youre saide coronne of Fraunce in tyme of youre coronacion there.

[In furtherance of the peace policy it was also proposed to liberate the Duke of Orleans, a prisoner in England. To this Gloucester also objected.]

Wherefore, considering that the saide cardinal and archebisshop of York ben they that pretenden the gouvernance of you and of youre saide royaume, please it to youre highnesse, my ful doubted lord, to estraunge hem of youre counsaile, to that extent that men may be at thair fredam to sey what hem thinketh of trouth, for thogh I dar speke of my trouthe, the poure ne dar not so.

76.

[Accusation of witchcraft was brought against the Duchess of Gloucester in July, 1440. Nicolas, "Chron. of London," 128]

Also in this same yere the duchesse of Gloucetre was arested and put in Holt, for she was suspecte of treson, and a clerk that was longyng to here, whiche was clepyd Roger Whiche, was taken for Werchyng of sorcery ayens the kyng, and he was put into the Tour; and after, he was brought into Poules, and there he stood up on high on a scaffold ageyn Poulys crosse on a Sondag, and there he was arraied like as he schulde never the in his garnementys, and

there was honged rounde aboughte hym alle hise intrumentis whiche were taken with hym, and so schewyd among all the peple and after he was broughte to fore the lordys, and there he was examyned; and after broughte to the Yeldehalle, and there he was regned aforen the lordes of the kynges counseill and to fore alle the juges of this land; and anon after, the lady of Gloucestre afornseid was mad to apere thre sondry dayes afore the kyng and alle hise lordes spiruell and temperell; and there she was examyned of diverses poyntes of wicheckcraft, of the whiche she knowleched that she hadde used thorough the counseill of the Wicche of Eye; the whiche was brent on the even of Symond and Jude in Smythefeld. . . . My lady of Gloucestre hadde confessed here wicheckcraft, as it is afornseid she was yoyned be alle the sprualte assent to penaunce; to comen to London fro Westm' on the Moneday next suyng and londe at the Temple brigge out of here barge, and there she tok a taper of wax of ij^{lb} in here hond, and wente so thorough Fletstrete on here foot and hoodles unto Poules, and there she offred up here taper at the high auter; and on the Wednesday nest suenge she com fro Westm', be barge, unto the Swan in Tempse strete, and there she londyd, and wente forthe on here feet thorough Brigge strete, Groschirche strete, to the Ledenhalle, and so to Crichirche in the wyse afornseyh; and at iche of the tymes the mair with the schirreves and the craftes of London were redy at the places there she sholde londe; and after, Roger the clerk afornseyd on the Satirday, that is to sey the xvij day of Novembre, was brought to the Yeldehalle, with Sire John Hom prest, and William Wodham squyer, the whiche S^r John and William hadden there chartres at that tyme; and the clerk was dampned, and the same day was drawe fro the Tour of London to Tiborn, and there hanged, hedyd, and quartered, and the heed sett upon London bregge; and his oo quarter at Hereford, another at Oxenford, another at York, and the fourthe at Cambregge; and the lady put in prison, and after sent to Chestre, there to byde whill she lyvyth.

77.

[Owing to the failure of the negotiations the war was continued and the Duke of York set out in June, 1441, with reinforcements. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, iii. 536, 18 February.]

Commission to John, Duke of Norfolk, William, Earl of Suffolk, John Clyfton, knight, Henry Inglose, knight, the Sheriff of Norfolk, and the Collectors of the tenth and fifteenth and the moiety of the tenth and fifteenth granted to the King in the last Parliament by the Commonalty of England to treat as soon as may be with the King's lieges in Norfolk for the payment of the fourth part of the said tenths and fifteenths, which they were appointed to collect at Easter, and to answer for the same at the Exchequer, before the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, the King having heard rumours of an attack on the King's dominions of France and Normandy, and intending to send thither the Duke of York with no small army to expel the enemy.

78.

[In 1442 the Count of Armagnac suggested a marriage alliance between one of his daughters and Henry VI. Envoys were sent by Henry to his court with the following instructions. T. Bekynton, "Official Correspondence," R.S., ii. 183.]

The Kinge wol, Sires, that ye holde forth your journey, using th'instrucions that were deliverd unto you in his presence, saveng oonly where ye had the name of oon in especial, the King wol that ye trete in general, to th'entent that he may have the choys . . . and at your first commyng thider, in al haste possible, that ye do portraie the iij. doughters in their kerttelles simple, and their visages, lyk as ye see their stature and their beaute and color of skynne and their countenances, with almaner of fetures; and that j. be delivered in al haste with the said portratur to bringe it unto the Kinge, and he t'appointe and signe which hym lyketh; and therupon to sende you word how ye shal be gouverned.

[In 1442 the war had been carried on in Gascony, and several French successes had been gained. In 1443 the Council had to decide whether to concentrate on the defence of Normandy or Guienne. Cant and York Soc., vol. xxii, "Reg. of Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford, 1422-48," 252]

By the Kinge. Reverend fader in God, right trusti and wel beloved, it is not unknowen unto you how that our adversary of France and his oldest son that calleth himselfe Dauphin, with all the myght and puissance that they can and may assemble and with all thassistance and help not oonly of thoo that oure said adversary calleth his vassalles and subjects, but also of his allies of other reaumes and contrees, enforcen hem and maken, and be disposed to make, in this season that now is at hande, unto us soore and as myghty werre bothe by water and bi lande as they can devise, and namely in our duchies of Normandie and Guienne; and how be it that we, by thadvis of oure counseil, have do, and dayli do, all diligence possible to us for provision to be made of grete and notable puissance to be sent over to resiste hem in thayr said purpos and to rebuke hem . . . we write unto you exhortyng, requirng, and hertly prayeng yow that ye do all the devoir and diligence possible to yow in this behalve, making all thoo that be called ministers of Goddis chirch, seculiers and reguliers, withyne your diocise, to go openly and devoutly procession divers daies in the weke al this yere nextfolwyng, . . . sturing hem that considering the necessitees and the thinges abovesaid thei encrece therefore and eke their laboures and diligence in prayer not cissing, but all other occupacions and plesieres that be not behovefull forborin and left ferforth as them shall resonably mowe be continually emendyng to devout prayers day and nyght, afore noon and after, namely in Goddis hous, where prayers be most exaudible. (Dated 8 March.)

[The negotiations with Armagnac failed owing to the war in Gascony.

Under the influence of the Beauforts a marriage was arranged with Margaret of Anjou. The betrothal took place in May, 1444. "Brut," E E.T.S., 485.]

And then the xxv day of Maye next suyng, the Kyng of Cisyll and of Jerusalem, with the Quene his wife, brought with theym Dame Margaret theire doughter, to the Cite of Toures in Turyn, in Fraunce, and there met the Kyng of Fraunce and the Quene his wife. And the Kyng of Fraunce toke the Kyng of Cisill and of Jerusalem by the hande; and so they yede forth togeder; and the Quene of Fraunce toke the Quene of Cisill and of Jerusalem by the hande, and so they yede forth togeder thurgh the Cite till they come to the chief Chirch of the Cite of Tours in Tureyn. And then come this Dame Margarete as for Quene of England, and ledde betwene the Dolphyn of Fraunce and an-other grete Prince of Fraunce; and they ledde Dame Margaret to the chief Chirche, which is of Seynt Martyn, with vij dukes and xiij Erles, with other grete lordes and ladyes folowing theym, into the same Chirche. And then come the Markeys of Suffolk, and all the other ambassatours of England. And there Dame Margaret made suraunce to the Markeis of Suffolk, and principally to the Kyng of England, and to all these ambassatours; and she was made there Quene of England. And the Markeis of Suffolk and the other ambassatours made surance to Dame Margaret, in presence of the kynges and quenes, dukes, Erles, lordes and ladyes, and also in presence of a legate of Rome there beyng at that tyme.

[Margaret crossed to England in February, 1445. *Ibid.*, 489.]

And the Friday, the xxvjth day of Maye, the Mayre of London with the aldermen and Shirrefs and comons of the Cite rode to the Blake-Heth in Kent; and there they abode and hoved¹ on horsbak vnto the Quenes comyng. And so

¹ remained.

they came with hir to London; and she was brought to the Toure of London; and there she rested hir all nyght. . . . And then on the morowen at after none, the Quene come from the Toure in a hors-bere with ij sledes trapped all in white damask poudred with gold; and so was the vesture that she had on; and the pylowes and all the bere in oon sute; and hir here combed downe about hir shulders, with a coronall of gold, riche perles and precious stones, with all lords on horsbak and ladyes in chares, that is to sey, xix chares of ladyes and theire gentelwomen, and all the craftes of the Cite of London goynge on fote in theire best aray vnto Saint Paules. And by the wey, as she come thurgh the Cite, there were shewed and made many devises and storyes, with angeles and other hevenly thinges, with songe and melody in dyuers places; and the condites ran wyne, bothe white and rede, for all peple that wold drynk. . . .

And on the morowe, that was Sondag, the xxx day of Maye, was the coronacion and fest rially and worthely holden at Westminster in the Kynges palays.

81.

[It was said that Suffolk had promised the cession of Maine to the French King, an unpopular move. In the Parliament which met on 29 April, 1445, he demanded a vote of confidence. Rot. Parl., v. 74.]

Be it had in mynde, That the secunday of Juyn, the xxiiith yare of oure Sovereigne Lorde Kyng Henry the sext, my lord the Marques and Erle of Suff', in this present Parlement in the presence of my Lord of Gloucestr', and other my Lordes Spirituell and Temporell, then beyng present in the Counsaill Chaumbre of the Parlement, declared ryght notably, compendiously, and discretly, his laboure which he had made by the Kynges commandement of late tyme, aswell for the pees and abstinence of werr' betwene the Roialmes and Lordshippes of Ingelond, and of Fraunce, as for the marriage of our said Sovereigne Lord the Kyng, with the most noble and famous Princesse our Sovereigne Lady the Quene, Doghter

to the high and myghty Prynce the Kyng of Cesile . . . and declared for his true acquitaile toward oure saide Sovereaigne Lorde, and thus his noble Roialme, that howe be it that hit is promysed, that certayn Ambassitours that come frome the Frenche partie into this Roialme in goodly hast, for to trete of pees, . . . yite it semed to hym ryght necessarie, expediente and behovefull, for the suerte of this Roialme, and the Kynges obeisaunce beyonde the see . . . that ordinaunce and provision myght be made in all gooddely hast, atte all tymes to be redy to the defence of that lande, and for the werre and myghty defence therof, the which myght in this time of abstinence be more esely seen to, then in the tyme of the werre. . . .

[On the following day, 3 June, Suffolk made the same declaration to the Commons. On 4 June they replied as follows. *Ibid.*, 73.]

Be it had in mynde, that the iiijth day of Juyn, in the presence of oure Sovereaigne Lorde, and of my Lordes Spirituel and Temporel and Commones, in this present Parlement assembled, after declaration made by my Lorde the Marques and Erle of Suff' . . . to the ende it myght in tyme to come abyde in the remembraunce whatsoever yet thereof, as more pleynly it may appere be an Acte therof made in this Parliament Rolle; William Burley, Speker for the said Commones, . . . recomended to our said Sovereaigne Lord the Kyng, and to his good Grace, my saide Lorde the Marques of Suff', and his ryght grete and notable werkys whiche he hathe done to the pleasir of God, of oure saide Sovereaigne Lord, and of his people; shewyng and declaryng in especiale, my said Lorde of Suff', hath ben to labour all his dayes, for conservation of the peas in the Kynges lawes within this Roialme, in represyng and expellyng al maner rioters and extortions within the same in his knyghtly corage, shewyng at al tymes in the Kyngs werres beyond the See, sithyn the tyme he come to the Kyngs service, and singularly his grete and diligent labours wheche he hathe had now late beyond the See by his notable

wysdom, providence, and discrecion, aboute the Trete of peas betwene the Roialmes and Lordshippes of Ingelond and of Fraunce . . . and also grete devoirs and diligences the whiche he hathe had, in entendyng to laboure . . . to the marriage of oure said Sovereigne Lorde the Kyng, to the most noble and famous Princes oure Sovereigne Lady the Quene . . . the Speker . . . prayed to all my Lordes Spirituel and Temporel there then beyng present, that they wold wochesaf, for the said considerations, pray and beseche our said Sovereigne Lorde the Kyng, to repute, accept, declare, and take my said Lord of Suff' to his goode and benygne grace and favour for the cause above said, . . . uppon the whiche request . . . my Lorde of Gloucestr', and many other Lordys Spirituell and Temporell abovesaid, arose of their setis, and besoghtyn humbly the Kyng of the same as they were prayed by the said Communes to pray and to beseche his Highnesse to do; the whiche praiers and desyres, bothe of the Lordes and of the Communes, oure said Sovereign Lorde, by the mouthe of my Lord of Canterbury Chaunceller of Englonde, answerde in this wyse, . . . saying to them . . . that his Highnesse . . . wold repute, accept, declare, and take to his goode and benygne grace and favour my said Lord of Suff', as hym that had alwey do good, true, feithfull and notable service to his Highnesse, . . . and graunted and commaunded the said declarations, laboures, and demesnyngs, and diligences of my said Lord of Suff' and the said recomendations and desires of the said Communes and Lordes, to his true acquitaille and discharge, perpetuell honour of hym, and of his heires for ever, to be enacted and enrolled of record, in the Rolle of the said Parlement.

82.

[The French ambassadors arrived on 14 July, 1445. On 22 December the cession of Maine was promised. Letter from Henry VI to Charles VII. Stevenson, "Letters and Papers," R.S., ii. 639]

Most high and powerful prince, our very dear uncle, knowing that you would be very glad that we should make

deliverance of the city, town, and castle of Le Mans, and of all that we have and hold within the comté of Maine, to the most high and powerful prince, and our very dear father and uncle, the King of Sicily and Charles of Anjou, his brother (as by your subjects and ambassadors at this time sent to us has been more fully said and explained) who have . . . informed us that it appeared to you that this was one of the best and aptest means to arrive at the blessing of a peace between us and you; wishing effectually to prove the great desire and affection which we have to attain unto the said blessing of peace . . . favouring also our most dear and well-beloved companion the queen, who has requested us to do this many times, and out of regard to our said father and uncle . . . we signify and promise in good faith and on our kingly word to give and deliver really and actually . . . all excuses and hindrances ceasing and put aside, the town and castle of Le Mans, together with all the towns, castles and fortresses, and generally all that we have and hold and which is in our possession within the comté of Maine, by the last day of April next coming, and to send our subjects and officers to you with power sufficient to make the said delivery. . . .

Dated at Windsor, the xxij day of December, in the year one thousand cccc and forty-five.

83.

[Parliament met at Bury St. Edmunds on 10 February, 1447. Death of the Duke of Gloucester. (a) Notes by Richard Fox, Monk of St. Albans. "Eng. Chron.," C.S., App., 116.]

The Parlement of Berye, the regne of kyng Harry the vj, the xxxv yere. The Parlement began the' x day of Februarye.

And onne the xvj day of the same moneth mustered the men of the same contre on the north syde of Berye on Henow Heth to the nowmbre of xl.M.

. . . And on the morewe, that is to seye the xvij day of

Februarye and Schrooffe-Sonedayes Even, come the duke of Gloucetre fro Lanam; and or he come by halue a myle or more mette with hym sir John Stourtone, treserere of the kynges howse, and sir Thomas Stanley, cowntroller of the kyngus hows, in message fro the kyng, was, as hit was reportyd by somme of the forseyd dukes meyne:—"That forasmoche as the forseyd duke of Gloucetre hadde labered in that feruent coolde wheder, hit was the kynges wylle that he scholde take the next wey to his loggyng, and goo to his mete". And indede he enterid in at the Southgate about xj on the clokke affore none. And by estymacyon there come with hym to the nowmbre of iiij score hors. . . .

And anoon as he hadde eten, come to hym by the kynges comaundement the duke of Bokyngham, the marques of Dorset, the erle of Salysbery, the vycount Bemound, the lorde Sudeley. And the vycount Bemound areste the seyde duke of Gloucetre. . . .

And on the Schroff-Tewesday, in the latter ende of ther mete, in the halle, were areste . . . to the nowmbre xxviij. And these were sent to dyuerse plases to prisone, somme to the Tour of Londone, somme to Wynchester, somme to Notyngham, and somme to Northamtone, and to other dyuers places, as plesyd the kyng and his councele.

And on the Thorsday next folowyng, aftre the arestyng of the sey duke of Gloucetre he deyde sone appon iij on the belle at aftrenone, at his owne loggyng, called Seynt Saluatores, without the Northgate: on whose sowle God haue mercy. Amen.

And on the Fryday next folewing, the lordes spirituelle and temporelle, also knightes of the Parlement and whosoever wolde come, saugh hym dede. . . . And on the Saturday next folewynge by the morewen, he was bore to the Greye Freres of Babbewede, with xx torches of his owne meynye; saue the too yemen of the crowne and the sergeaunt of armes, ther were no mo strangeres that went with hym. . . .

And on the Fryday they come to Seynt Albones, and there was done his dryge, and on the motewe his Masse, and

thanne put into a feyre vout wheche was made for hym by his lyffe, and so closed and mured up. . .

And alle the other that were araste, bothe gentyllemen and yemen, the kyng dede hem grace : relesed hem of ther prisonment, and fore the more part were restored to ther goodes.

And thus endet Vmffrey the duke of Gloucetre.

[(b) "Chron. 1445-1455"; Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 344. (Lat).]

And in the xxvith year (of his reign) died the Duke of Gloucester, Humphrey, the son of Henry IV, brother of Henry V, and uncle of Henry VI, at the Parliament at Bury on the eve of the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle,¹ about midnight. This duke was a man of letters, and a true enthusiast for learning, the faith, the welfare of the clergy and the realm. He enriched the University of Oxford with gifts of precious, beautiful, and sumptuous books of every science and branch of learning; and his name and the remembrance of him are and shall be for ever engraved there in memory both human and divine.

84.

[On 11 April, 1447, Cardinal Beaufort died, leaving Suffolk supreme in the Council. Aware of his unpopularity, he again demanded an opportunity for declaring his loyalty Cal. Pat Rolls, Hen. VI, v. 78, 17 June, 1447. Rymer, xi. 172.]

Declaration that William, marquis and earl of Suffolk, accused of disloyalty on the delivery of the land of the counties of Anjou and Cenomannia (Maine), made a petition for a place and time wherein to defend himself, which the king granted, to wit, on 25 May, 25 Henry VI, in the chamber at Westminster palace, before the Archbishop of Canterbury, chancellor, Marmaduke, bishop of Carlisle, treasurer, Walter, bishop of Norwich, Richard, Duke of York, Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, Ralph, lord of Cromwell, Ralph, lord of Syley, king's steward, James, lord of Say, king's chamberlain,

¹ 23 Feb.

and others, whereupon the said marquis justified himself to the full satisfaction of the king and the said councillors.

85. .

[In May, 1448, the English entered Scotland. The Scots retaliated, and on 23 October defeated the English near the River Sark by the Solway. "Bale's Chron.," ap Flenley, 123.]

Item the moneth of septembre the king rode to York at which tyme the Scottes had issued into the English marches and brent and dyd moch harme and afterward as cowardes knowyng of the kynges comyng stale home again and fled into Scotland and after them issued a greet power into the land of Englyssheman of the marches and brent and slewe in Scotland and wolde have distroied that land but they wer reconntred and comaunded by the king to ceas and soo cam ageyn. And than the Scots of sotell ymaginacion rosen agein. And than Sir Henre pery and many other Gentiles pursued upon theym and sodenly they wer betrapped and taken in a mire ground which was a greet hevynes to the king and a grevous hurt to this land. And a noon after the Erle of Salesbury brent greet part of the marches of Scotland and toke many prisoners and greet store of their catell.

86.

[A truce with France had been concluded to last until 1 January, 1449. The policy of Somerset and Suffolk, however, was not calculated to promote peaceful relations between the two countries and the attack on Fougères resulted in a declaration of war by Charles VII. "Le Recouvrement de Normandie, par Berry, Heraut du roy." Stevenson, "Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy," R.S., 239. (Fr.).]

In the year 1448 (1449), in the month of March, the English took by escalade and surprise the town and castle of Fougères, situated and placed in the duchy of Bretagne on the borders of Normandy, during the truce made and taken between the King of France, our sovereign lord, and the King of England. And the said English were six hundred

men at arms, of whom a knight of Aragon, named Sir Francois de Surienne, was the chief and leader. . . . The King of France . . . by the mature advice of his great council . . . immediately sent an embassy. . . . to the duke of Somerset, at that time governour of Normandy for the King of England, to summon and require him to restore and deliver the said town and castle of Fougères. . . . The said Duke of Somerset answered that he disclaimed the persons who had taken it, although he was glad at it, and would not wish that it had happened otherwise; and therefore he would not meddle nor interfere to make them give it back.

87.

[In May, 1449, Robert Winnington was commissioned to clear the sea of pirates. Letter from him to Thomas Daniel, 25 May, 1449. "Paston Letters," ii. 103, no. 90.]

I send you word that when we went to see, we toke ij. schyppys of Brast comyng oute of Flaundrys; and ther after, ther ys made a grete armyng in Brytayne to mete with me and my felyschyp, that ys to say, the grete schyp of Brast, the grete schyp of the Morleys, the grete schyp of Vanng, with other viij. schyppis, bargys, and balyngers, to the number of iij.m^{li} men; and so we lay in the see to mete with them.

And then we mette with a flotte of a c. grete schyppys of Pruse, Lubycke, Campe, Rastocke, Holond, Selond, and Flandres, betwyte Garnyse¹ and Portland; and then I cam aboard the Admirall, and bade them stryke in the Kyngys name of Englund; and they bade me skyte in the Kyngys name of Englund; and then I and my feleschyp sayd, but he wyll streke don the sayle, that I wyld over sayle ham by the grace of God, and God wyll send wynd and wether; and dey bade me do my wurst, by cause I had so fewe schyppys and so smale, they scornyd with me. And as God wuld, on Fryday last was, we had a gode wynd, and then we armyd to

¹ Guernsey.

the number of ij m^l men in my feleschyp, and made us redy for to over sayle them; and then they lonchyd a bote, and sette up a stondert of truesse, and com and spake with me. And then they were yolded all the hundret schyppys to go with me in what port that me lust and my felawys; but they faothe with me the day before, and schotte atte us a j.m^l gonnys, and quarell owte of number, and have slayn meny of my feleschyp, and meymyd all soo. Wherfor me thyngkt that they have forfett bothe schyppys and godys at our Soverayn Lord the Kyngys wyll.

88.

[Trial and death of Suffolk. On 26 January, 1450, the Commons petitioned for the impeachment of Suffolk. Rot. Parl., v. 177.]

To the Kyng oure Soverayn Lord; Sheweth and piteously compleyneth youre humble and true obeisauntes Commens of this youre noble Reaume, in this your present Parlement by your high auctorite assembled, for the suerte of your moost high and Roiall persone, and the welfare of this your noble Reaume, and of your Liege people of the same. That William de la Pole Duke of Suff' late of Ewelme in the countee of Oxonford, falsely and traiterously hath ymagined, compassed, purposed, forethought, doon and committed dyvers high, grete, heynous and horrible treasons, ayenst your moost Roiall persone, youre Coronas of your Reaumes of Englonde and Fraunce, youre Duchies of Guyan and Normandie, and youre olde enheritaunce of your Countees of Anjoye and Mayne, the estate and dignite of the same, and the universall wele and prosperite of all your true subgettes of your seid Reaumes, Duchies and Countee, in maner and fourme ensuyng.

[Here follow the charges in detail concerning the loss of Normandy, and his general conduct of the administration. *Ibid.*, 182.]

Off which offenses, misprisions, untrue labours and fals deceytes, in the seid Articles specified, We your seid Com-

mens accuse and empeche the seid Duke of Suff^r; and in the moost humble wise beseche and pray your Highnesse, that this be enacted in this youre high Court of Parlement. . . .

[On 13 March Suffolk was brought to Parliament. He denied the charges brought against him, and repeated his denial on 17 March. He refused to claim a trial by his peers, submitting himself to the King's judgment. The Chancellor's speech. *Ibid*, 183.]

Sire, y conceyve you that ye not departyng from youre answers and declarations in the maters aforesaid, not puttyng you uppon youre Parage, submitte you hooly to the Kyngs rule and governaunce . . . the Kyng, by force of youre submission, by his owne advis, and not reportyng hym to the advis of his Lordes, nor by wey of Jugement, for he is not in place of Jugement, putteth you to his rule and governaunce: That is to say, that ye, before the first day of May next commyng, shull absente youre self oute of his Reame of Englund; and also, from the seid first day of May, unto the ende of v yere next folowyng and full complete, ye shall abstene you to abyde in his Roialme of Fraunce, or in any other Lordshippes or places being under his obeysaunce, whersoever they be.

[(b) "Bale's Chron." ap. Flenley, 128.]

And in this parliament the comones therof appeled and detect to the kings highnes the seid duk of Suffolk being in the tour as a prisoner of divers poyntes of treson notwithstanding which appeel the king delivered be his prerogatif the same duk out of the tour at large. And the xv day of March the same duk being at Westminster pryvely gate away from thens and yede that nooman knewe whether. Where with the comones of this land wer agreved and certeyn of the seid duks men wer take in the nyght be wacchemen of the Citee and comyt to the comptours but they wer delivered ageyn be write w^t out tarieng.

[The Parliament was adjourned to Leicester. Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 159.]

Anon aftir this he went into Northfolk, and toke there shippyng. And a ship called Nicolas of the Toure mette wt hym upon the see, and toke hym and brought hym to Dovyr Rode; and there stroke of his hede, and laide the body upon lond vpon the sandes.

89.

[Rising of Jack Cade, 1450. (a) Grievances of the rebels. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Rep. viii. pt. 1, App., 266. Cf. "Three Fifteenth Century Chron.," C.S., 94-9, and Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 360-4.]

These ben the poyntes, mischeves and causes of the gederynge and assemblynge of us zyoure trew legemene of Kent. . . .

Item, they sey that oure Soveraigne lorde is above his lawe, and that the lawe is made to his plesure, . . .

Item, they seye the Kynge schuld lyve upon his Comyns, and that her bodyes and goods are his; . . .

Item, they sey when the Kynge wulle, schalle be traytours, and when he wulle none schalle be none;

Item, we sey that our Soveraygne lorde may well undurstand that he hath hadde ffalse counsaile, ffor his lordez ern lost, his marchundize is lost, his comyns destroyed, the see is lost, ffraunse his lost, hymself so pore that he may not (? pay) for his mete nor drynk;

Item, we wulle that alle men know that we wulle neythur robbe nor stele, but those fawtes amendid we schall go hoom. . . .

Item, we wulle it be knowne that we blame not alle the lordes nor alle that biene aboute the Kynges persone . . . but such as may be ffounde gilty by a just and trew enquere by the lawe. . . .

God be oure gyde and then schull we spede

Who so evur say nay, ffalse for ther money reulethe,

Trewth for his tales spellethe,

God seende vs a ffayre day. Away, traytours, away!

[(b) The rebels, under the leadership of Jack Cade, reached Blackheath in June. "Gregory's Chron.," C.S., 190.]

(Ande aftyr that) the comyns of Kent a rosse with certayne othyr schyrys, and they chesse hem a captayne, the whyche captayne compellyd alle the gentellys to a-rysse whythe hem. Ande at the ende of the Parlyment they come whythe a grete myght and a stronge oste unto the Blacke Hethe, be syde Grenewyche, the nomber of xlvi M¹, and there they made a fylde, dykyd and stakyde welle a-bowt. . . . And there they a-bode certayne days too the comyng of the kyng for the parlymentte at Leyceter. Ande thenne the kyng send unto the captayne dyvers lordys bothe spyrytuelle and temporalle, to wytte and to have knowleche of that grette assembelynge and gaderyng of that grete and mysavysyd feleschyppe. The captayne of hem sendyng worde agayne unto the kyng, that hyt was for the wele of hym oure soverayne lorde, and of alle the realme, and for to dystrye the traytours beyng aboute hym, wythe othyr dyvers poyntys that they wolde see that hyt were in schorte tyme a-mendyde. Uppon whyche answer that the kyng, thedyr sent by hys lordys, dyd make a crye in the kyngys name of Engelonde that all the kyngys liegemen of Engelonde shulde a-voyde the fylde. And a-pon the nyght aftyr they were alle voydyd and a-goo.

[(c) Kingsford, "Chron. of London," 159.]

Wherfore it was agreed that Sir Humfrey Stafford, knyght, and William Stafford, Esquyer, and an other Squyer with theym, shuld ffolowe the chase. And at Sevenok in Kent they met and fought w^t the capitayne and his company, where the said Sir Humfrey and his company lost the ffeelde, and Sir Humfrey Stafford and William his brother w^t many other there were sleyn.

[(d) The rebels therefore returned to London, "Bale's Chron.," ap.-Flenley, 131.]

The ffriday which was the eve of the Translacion of seint Edward¹ the kyng comaunded all his host to moustr

¹ 19 June.

upon the seid heth and ther was than a mighty puissance which puissance was assigned by the king's counsell to have ridden into Kent and pursued the seid capitaigne and his peple and so to have destroyed Kent and taken theym. But the capitaigne and his ffelauship disposed them in such wyse and departed his peple in severall busshelements to have recountred w^t the lordes and their puissance. So that the king's host made than a sodeyn showte and noys upon the seid heth seing distroye we thise traitours about the king which that the seid capitaigne hat entended to doo or ever we will doo hit. Whereupon the king graunted their desire and comaunded the lord Say Chamberleyn of Engeland to be take and soo he was arrested in the king's presence.

[(e) "Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles," C.S., 67.]

Whan the kyng was gone the capteyn with the comynes of Kent came agene to the Black-hethe. And the iiijth day of Juyle he came to London; and as sone as thei entred in London they rubbed Phelippe Malpas. And the iiij day of July he behedid Crowmer . . . and . . . the Lorde Say was fett oute of the Toure to the Yelde Hall to for the meire to have jugement, and whan he came befor the meir he said he wolde be juged by his perys. . . . And the same nyght (July 5th) the Meir and Shoreffes . . . and the comynes of London went to London Brygge, and ther they faughte from ix of the cloke at eve till ix on the morowe, and at the laste the capteyne fired the drawe brigge. Ande forthe withe went the Chaunseler to the capteyne and sessed him and yave him a chartur. . . . Then the xii day of Juyll was in every shire proclamed that whate man that coutte take the forsaide capteyn shulde have a Mⁱ marke and brynge him to the king quicke or dede . . . for hit was openly knowe that his name was not Mortymer, his name was John Cade, and therfor his chartor stode in no streynthe. And so one Alexandre Iden, a squyre of Kent, toke hym in a garden in Sowthsex the xiii day of Jule.

90.

[The war in France. (a) During 1449-50 the French inflicted several defeats upon the English. By August, 1450, Cherbourg was the last remaining stronghold in English hands. Its fall marks the end of English rule in northern France. "Le recouvrement de Normandie, par Berry, Herault du Roy": Stevenson, "Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy," R S., 367. (Fr.).]

Thomas Gouel . . . surrendered the castle and town of Cherbourg on the twelfth day of the month of August, in the said year 1450. And the said English who were within went by sea into England, their lives and goods being saved, they being one thousand good fighting men. . . . And thus the whole duchy of Normandy was conquered, and all the cities, towns, and castles thereof brought in subjection to the king of France within one year and six days.

[(b) Results of English losses. "Bale's Chron.," ap. Flenley, 134.]

Item the Thursday, and fryday suyng (Aug. 6 and 7) and soo dayly after cam thurgh Chepe diverse long cartes wth stuff of armor and bedding and houshold as well of Englissh as of Norman goodes and men women and children in right pover array pitewus to see dryven out of Normandy.

[(c) Letter from Margaret to John Paston, 12 March, 1450
"Paston Letters," ii. 136, no. 106.]

Ther ben many enemys azens Yermouth and Crowmar, and have don moche harm, and taken many Englysch men, and put hem in grett distresse and grettely rawnsommyd hem; and the seyd enemys been so bold that they kom up to the lord, and pleyn hem on Casten Sonds, and in other plases as homely as they were Englysch men.

[Intervention of the Duke of York. Richard Duke of York, who had been appointed Lieutenant in Ireland in 1448, left Ireland in August, 1450, and reached London, evading the King's officers who had been instructed to arrest him. He then presented the following bill to the King. Stow, "Annales," 395, misplaced under 1452; cf. "Paston Letters," ii. 177, no. 143.]

Please it your highnes tenderly to consider that great murmur and grudging is universally in this your Realme, is that Justice is not duly ministered to such as trespasse and offend against your lawes, and in especiaall of them that be endited of treason, and other being openly noised of the same, whereby great inconveniences have fallen, and great is like to fall hereafter in your said Realme, which God defend, but if by your highnes prouision couenable bee made for due reformation and punishment in this behalfe. Wherefore I pour humble subyeect and true liegeman Richard Duke of Yorke, willing as effectually as I can, and desiring the suertie and prosperitie of your most royall person, and the welfare of this your noble Realme, counsell and advertise your excellence for the conversation¹ of good tranquillitie and peaceable rule among all other subjects for to ordain and provide, y^t true justice be had, against all such that so be endited or openly named wherein I offer myself and will put my endeuour to execute your commandement in the premises, for y^e punishing of such offenders, and redresse of y^e said misrules to my might and power And for the hastie execution hereof, like it your highnes to addresse these letters of priue seale and writs to your officers and ministers, to doe, take and arrest all such persons so noysed and endited of what estate, degree, and condition soever they be, and them to commit to the Tower of London, and to other of your prisons, there to abide without baile or mainprise, untill the time they bee vtterly tried, and determined after the course of your lawes.

¹ conservation.

[The King's answer.]

Cosin, as touching your bill last put vp to vs, we vnderstand well that ye of good heart, counsell aduertise vs to the setting vp of iustice, and to the speedie punishing of some persons endited or noysed, offering your service to be readie at commandement in the same, sith it is that for many causes mouing vs to haue determined in our soule to stablish a sad, and a substantiall Counsell, giuing them more ample authoritie and power than euer we did afore this, in the which we have appointed you to bee one. But sith it is not accustomed sure, nor expedient to take a conclusion and conduct by aduise or counsell of one person by himself for the conseruation, it is obserued that the greatest and the best, the rich and the pore, in libertie, vertue, and effect of your¹ voyces be equall: we have therefore determined within our selfe to send for our Chancellor of England and for other Lords of our Counsell, yea and all other, together within short time ripely to commune these and other our great matters, in the which communication, such conclusion by the grace of God shall be taken, as shall found to his pleasure, the weale of vs and our land, as well in these matters as in any other.

92.

[Parliament opened on 6 November York had gone to Norfolk after his first arrival in London. "Bale's Chron.," ap. Flenley, 137.]

Item the xxij day of november the seid duk of york w^t iijM men and moo cam riding thurgh the citee his sweerd born a fore him and yede to the parliament and the king. And on the morn folowyng cam riding thurgh the citee the duc of norffolk w^t a greet peple in Brigandiers and vj clarions a fore him blowyng.

Item on the morn suyng came the Erle of Warrewyk thurgh the citee w^t a mighty peple arrived for the werr and the monday the last day of novembr was a marvelous and

¹ their.

dredful sturmyng and noys of the comones and of lordes men at Westminster crieng and seieing to the lordes dooth justice upon the fals traitours or lett us be avenged. And upon the morn which was the first day of Decembr the lordes men made a saute upon the duk of Somerset at Blakfreres in London and ther despoilled moch of his goodes but the mair and the comones of the citee gadered a power to geder and remedied hit a noon and elles had the duc be taken or sleyn.

Item upon the Saterdag folowyng the lordes and the jugges sat atte Guyldhall and the mair keping his estate and the king set upon an Oy determyner for the dispoilling of the seid goodes and the same day the said duk was comyt unto the Tour.

93.

[Parliament met again in January, 1451. The Commons demanded the dismissal of certain members of the Royal Household. See below, p. 172. English losses in Aquitaine later in the year provided a fresh cause for an attack upon the administration, and in February, 1452, York asked for support against his rival, Somerset, from the men of Shrewsbury. Ellis, "Original Letters," Series I, vol. i., no. 6 (spelling modernised)]

It is to be supposed it is not unknown to you, how, that after my coming out of Ireland, I . . . advised his Royal Majesty of certain Articles concerning the weal and safeguard, as well of his most royal person, as the tranquillity and conservation of all this his realm: the which Advertisements, how be it that it was thought that they were full necessary, were laid apart, and to be of none effect, through the envy, malice, and untruth of the said Duke of Somerset: Wherefore, worshipful Friends, to the intent that every man shall know my purpose . . . I signify unto you that . . . I, seeing that the said Duke ever prevailleth and ruleth about the King's person, that by this means the land is likely to be destroyed, am fully concluded to proceed in all haste against him, with the help of my kinsmen and friends; in such wise,

that it shall prove to promote ease, peace, and tranquillity, and safeguard of all this land : and more, keeping me within the bounds of my liegaunce as it pertaineth to my duty, praying and exhorting you, to fortify, enforce, and assist me and to come to me with all diligence, wheresoever I shall be, or draw, with as many goodly and likely men as ye may make to execute the intent abovesaid. Written under my signet at my castile of Ludlow, the 3rd day of February. . . .

Your good Frend,

R. YORK.

To my right worshipful Friends, the Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commons of the good town of Shroesbury.

94.

[York marched on London and the King left the city to meet him.

They finally met on 3 March, 1452, at Blackheath. "London Chronicle, 1446-52"; Kingsford, "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 297.]

The xxx. yere of Kyng Henry the sixte. This yere on Wednesday the xvj. day of Feverere the kyng with the lordis rode toward the Duke of Yorke for to take hym, because he reised peple to come downe and take the Duke of Somersete ; but whan the Duke of Yorke herde here of, he toke another waye and so came toward Lundun. And also sone as the Kyng herde therof he sente letters to the Meir, Aldirmen and comons of Lundun, on seint Mathies day (Feb. 24), that thei schuld kepe the citee and suffre nat the Duke of Yorke to come thern ; wherfore was made greet wacche in the citee, the whiche was tolde the Duke of Yorke, wherfore he lefte Lundun wey and wente ouer Kyngston brygge. And on Sondag (Feb. 27) next aftir, that was the first Sondag of Lente, the Kyngis vaward cam to London erly in the mornynge and loggid in Southwerke. And on the Monday after, in the morning thei were remeued fro thens into Kente. And at after none the same day the Kyng came to London with his oost, and so went into Southwerke and loggid at seint Marie Overeys. And the Duke of Yorke picched his ffield aboute

Dertford whith greet ordinaunce. And whiles the kyng lay stille at seint Marie Overeys bysshoppe¹ rood between the kyng and the Duke of Yorke to sette hem at reste and pees. But the Duke of Yorke seid he wold haue the Duke of Somerset, or elles he wold dye therefore. And on Wednysday (Mar. 1) next folowyng the kyng with his oost rode to Blakheith, and forth ouer Schoters hylle to Wellyng, and ther loggid that day and the morue. And on Thursday at aftir noon ther was maad a poyntement bytwene the Kyng and the Duke of Yorke by the mene of lordis. And on the morue, that was Fryday (Mar. 3) the Kyng ensemblid his oost on the Blake heith afore none; and there abode the comyng of the Duke of Yorke after the poyntement maad ovir evyne. And in Kyngis oost was nombred xx fyghting men, and men seide the Duke of Yorke hadde as many with moche greet stuff and ordinaunce. And att the last the Duke of Yorke cam with xl hors to the Kyng aboute none, and obeyed hym to his ligeaunce; and wyth (him) the Erl of Dewynshire and the lord Cobham, the whiche helde with the Duke of Yorke and were in oost with hym. And the Kynge toke hem to grace and alle.

95.

[York's articles against Somerset. "Paston Letters," i. 103.]

First, I article and declare that the seid Edmond Duc of Somerset hath be meane, consenter, occasioner, cause and mediatour, . . . of the losse and amission of youre Duchie of Normandie, . . .

Item, the seid Edmond Duc of Somerset was cause and consenter voluntarie of the brekyng of the trues and pais for a tyme had betwene youre highnes and youre uncle of Fraunce, which was well understond at the taking of Fogiers in Britaigne by Sir Fraunceys Larragonneys thurgh his avise consentement and counseille; . . .

Item, he put away and diminissed diverse garnisons

¹ Possibly bysshoppes. See "Eng. Hist. Lit.," 298, n. 1.

and other strong places of youre seid Duchie of Normandia of souldiers and of men of werre which were accustomed to abide uppon the suerte and saufgarde of the same, . . .

Item, the Duc of Somersett wold yeve noo counseile, aide, ne helpe unto the capitanis of diverse stronge places and garnisons, which at that tyme, constreyned by nede, desired of hym provision and relief, . . .

Item, the said Duc of Somersett hath contrived and ymagined, helped or consented to the grete and importable losse of Cales to be undre the obeisaunce of the Duc of Burgoyne.

96.

[Feeling in the country. "Gregory's Chron.," C.S., 198.]

Sum what the hertys of the pepyl hyng and sorowyd for that the Duke of Glouceter was dede, and sum sayde that the Duke of Yorke hadde grete wronge, but what wronge there was noo man that darste say, but sum grounyd and sum lowryd and hadde dysdayne of othyr.

97.

[The end of the war in France. (a) After the conquest of Normandy, the French turned to Aquitaine, where Shrewsbury was in command of the English fortes. Siege of Castillon, July, 1453. J. Chartier, "Chronique de Charles VII, roi de France," iii. 1-7. (Fr).]

In this same year, on 15 July, the French began to lay siege to the castle of Castillon in Périgord on the river Dordogne which was in the occupation and possession of the English. . . . About daybreak on Wednesday, 17 July, Talbot aforesaid and his followers arrived at the siege, and when the French knew of the coming of the said Talbot, they retreated within the camp, which was well entrenched, as has been said. . . . Meanwhile, Frenchmen were pouring into the camp from all parts and were making preparations for the siege. The gunners were mounting their cannons, culverins, and guns on the trenches directed towards the approaching

English. Whilst this was going on, those within the said town of Castillon found means to inform the said Talbot that if he should advance without further thought and speedily the Frenchmen would flee. But when he arrived, he was much astonished to find the contrary to be the case, and to see the fine fortifications which the said Frenchmen had put up, such trenches, such guns, so strongly parked, and their strong and firm resolve to fight. . . .

Then there began a great and fierce assault; there were great acts of bravery on both sides, hand to hand fighting, and marvellous and valiant struggles with axes, lances and arrows. This battle lasted a full hour. For the English always returned to the attack with great ardour; and the French likewise were not slow to deceive them with courage.

[A Breton army came to the assistance of the French.]

There was there . . . such a fierce struggle, such a clashing of arms, that it was something wonderful to hear. And such were the straits to which the English were driven, that finally they were compelled to flee, as has just been said. And then all their banners were hurled to the ground, and they left many dead on the field, and, amongst others, Talbot's horse was wounded by a cannon-ball so severely that he fell at once to the ground dead; and at the same time Talbot, his master, was thrown under him, and he was instantly killed by some archers. And thus died this famous and renowned English leader, who for so long had been considered the most formidable scourge of the French, and one of the most sworn foes of France, where his name filled all hearts with fear and terror. .

[(b) The Hundred Years War came to an end with the loss of Bordeaux in October, 1453. *Ibid.*, 17. (Fr.).]

The said town and city of Bordeaux was to be restored and given up to the King of France, and all its inhabitants were to be his true and obedient subjects, and to take an oath never to rebel or rise against the crown of France, and to

recognise and affirm the King of France to be their true sovereign lord. Further, the English were to have leave to return in their ships either to England or to Calais as seemed best to them.

And since some of the lords of the said country and city had treacherously, maliciously and fraudulently sent to England for the English aforesaid, a breach of their faith, and of the promise and oath, which they had made to the King in the preceding year, and the king has now by the use of force, and with great trouble, expenditure and cost, recovered the said town, which belongs to him, twenty of these, to be chosen at the King's pleasure, who have sent for the English from England, shall be banished from the country round Bordeaux, amongst whom the chief were the Sires of Esparre and Duras and many other lords.

This agreement was made on 17 September in the said year fourteen hundred and fifty-three.

98.

[In July, 1453, Henry fell ill. Both parties prepared for war. News Letter of John Stodeley, January 19, 1454 "Paston Letters," ii. 295, no. 235.]

As touchyng tythynges, please it you to wite that at the Princes comyng to Wyndesore, the Duc of Buk' toke hym in his armes and presented hym to the Kyng in godely wise, besechyng the Kyng to blisse hym; and the Kyng yave no maner answer. . . .

Item, the Duk of Excestre in his owne persone hathe ben at Tuxforthe beside Dancastre, in the north contree, and there the Lord Egremont mette hym, and thei ij ben sworne togedir, and the Duke is come home agein.

Item, th'erle of Wiltshire, the Lord Beaumont, Ponynges, Clyfford, Egremont, and Bonvyle, maken all the puissance they kan and may to come hider with theym.

Item, Thorpe of th'escheker articuleth fast ayenst the Duke of York, but what his articles ben it is yit unknowen.

Item, Tresham, Josep, Danyelle, and Trevilian have made a bille to the Lordes, desiryng to have a garisone kept at Wyndesore for the saufgarde of the Kyng and of the Prince. . . .

Item, the Duc of Buk' hathe do to be made M^l. M^l. bendes with knottes, to what entent men may construe as their wittes wole yeve theym.

Item, the Duke of Somersetes herbergeour hath taken up all the loggyng that may be gotten nere the Toure, in Thamy-strete, Martlane, Seint Katerines, Tourehille, and there aboute.

Item, the Queene hathe made a bille of five articles, desiryng those articles to be graunted ; wherof the first is that she desireth to have the hole reule of this land ; the second is that she may make the Chaunceller, the Tresorere, the Prive Seelle, and alle other officers of this land, with shireves and alle other officers that the Kyng shuld make ; the third is that she may yeve alle the bisshopriches of this land, and alle other benefices longyng to the Kynges gift ; the iijth is that she may have suffisant lyvelode assigned hir for the Kyng and the Prince and hir self. But as for the vth article, I kan nat yit knowe what it is.

Item, the Duke of York wole be at Londone justly on Fryday next comyng at night . . . And th'erle of Marche cometh with hym . . . The Erle of Salesbury wille be at London on Monday or Tywesday next comyng with seven score knyghtes and squyers, beside other meynes. The Erles of Warwyk, Richemond, and Pembroke comen with the Duke of Yorke, as it is seide, everych of theym with a godely feliship. . . .

Every man that is of th'opnyon of the Duke of Somerset makethe hym redy to be as stronge as he kan make hym. . . . The Duke of Somerset hathe espies goyng in every Lordes hous of this land ; some gone as freres, som as shipmen taken on the sea, and som in other wise ; which reporte unto hym all that thei kun see or here touchyng the seid Duke. . . .

Written at London, the xix day of Janvere.

Appointment of the Duke of York as Protector, April 3, 1454.
Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, vi. 159]

Appointment, during pleasure, by advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal and of the commonalty of England in the present Parliament, in consideration of the King's infirmity, whereby his attendance to the protection of the realm and church of England would be tedious and prejudicial to his swift recovery, of Richard, Duke of York, as protector and defender of the realm and church and principal councillor of the King, according to an act made in the said Parliament on the date of these presents, the authority of the Duke ceasing when Edward, the King's first-born son, arrive at years of discretion, if he shall then wish to take upon himself the charge of protector and defender.

[In December, 1454, Henry recovered, and Somerset was released from the Tower in March, 1455. Rymer, xi. 361-2 Rot. Pat., 33 Hen. VI, pt 2, m. 22.]

The fourth Day of March, the yere etc. xxxiii at Greenwich in the High Presence of our Sovereign Lord the King, being there present the Lords of his Councill, . . . Edward, Duc of Somerset recited and opened that He, in the time of the Disease of Oure Soveraigne Lord, was Committed to the Toure of London, and there kepte be the space of one hole Yere, Ten woks and more, and as he conceived, without any reasonable Ground or lawfull Processe, . . . till the seventh Day of Feverer last passed, at which Day he was by the Lordes of the Counsaill Committed to Bailie, undre the which he is yet now : And for so much he humbly besought the King's good grace . . . that his said Baylle myght be Discharged, and He to be at his full Fredome as the King's feithfull trewe Subgitte, the which he has ever be and ever shold . . .

The which Rehersall and Desire made by the said Duc of

Somerset, it pleased the King our said Sovereign Lord's good grace to saye, that he knewe well the said Duc hath be, and is his True and Feithfull Liegeman and Cousin, and doone unto him right true, good, and pleasaunt service ; and therefore, in presence of all the Lordes abovesaid, and divers others openly declared the seid Duc of Somerset his feithfull and true Liegeman and Subgitte, to the whiche noe Persone said contrarie, wyllyng it were known and understand that he so taketh and reputeth him.

101.

[Letter from Richard, Earl of Salisbury, to the Prior of Erdebury, 7 March, 1455, repudiating the charges of disloyalty against himself, York, and Warwick and asking for the good offices of the Queen in the matter B.M. MS. Cott. Vesp., F. xiii., Art. 64.]

Reverent father in God and my Right especial frende I recomaunde me to yow, and in my right hertie and faithfull wise thanke yow of al your true and grete diligences and undelaied devowe, yat ye have many tymes put yow in at my special request and prayer to that that myght serve to thobteignyng of my right fervent desire to knowe and fele the good ladiship of the Quene our sovereign lady to me hir humble true servaunt and in especial of yor grete labour in that bihalve sith my last speche with you, as by yore lettres brought me by the berer of thies. I conceive at large wherin among othre thing is contened yor desire and exhortacion me not to varye from yat I have promitted hertofore right largely by yow openned to hir seid highnesse and yet I see ye nat dishonored of yor reportes in yat bihalve wherunto will ye wit yat of eny promysse yat I have made unto yow at eny tyme for my declaracon unto the said highnesse, and to have and stand in ye favours of hir good grace for the whiche oon of my moost erthly desires I pray yow as tendrely as I can to contynue therin yor good will and devour for my singuler consolacon. I shal at al tymes kepe yow or eny othre yat labour for me to yat entent undishonored and nat to varie

fro my said promisses with Godes mercie, and as toward the blessed disposicion of the said good grace yet unto that that myght serve to rest and unitee comprised in hir gracions letters late directed to my lordes of the Counseille wherof to my grete joy I have herd and God shal I doubt nat be pleased therwith and prospre hir hie estate and the said lordes nat oonly bot also al thos whoome the matiere of the said blessed lettres touchen owe humbly and lowly to yeve laude and thonke to hir said highnesse therfore as that I doo in my moost humble wise as soo on my bihalve as hir true servaunt wt al myn hert and service in that that mowe bee to hir hie pleasure. I pray yow to declar me unto hir said grace and wher in yor said lettres it is expressed that ye have herd language of accusations of ryght hie estates to be made by my lord of York my son of Warrewic and me in materes that have not be disclosed here bfore to their grete rebuke etc. truely it is to my grete mervail by whate coloure reson or grounde eny such language by eny personne erthly myght bee uttered or saied, for as for myn own partie as I wol aunswere to our lord I never ymaged, thought, ore saied eny suche matere or eny thing like therunto in my dayes, and in like wise I dare woll say for my said lord and son as ferr as ever I herd or in eny wise knewe unto this houre as I doubte nat thai wol at al tymes right largely declaire theim silf and therfore therin or in eny othere concernyng my trouth I pray yow alway to aunswere largely for me and if there bee thing that I may doo to yor wele certifieth me and ye shal to the perfouring ther of fynde me ryght hertly disposed as our lord knoweth, which have yow ever in his blessed keping written at London ye vii day of marche.

Yor good frende Richard Erl of Salisbury.

In dorso.

To the reverent father in God and my right especial and tendre frende the Priour of Erdebury.

102.

[After the release of Somerset, York collected his forces and despatched the following letter written by himself and the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury to the Archbishop of Canterbury, from Royston, on 20 May. The letter, however, never reached him. Rot. Parl., v. 281.]

For as moche as we understonde that other Lordes of this lande have be late sent fore, by the Kynges commaundement under his Letters, to comen unto his Counsail privately late called at Westmynstre, wherunto we have not been among the said Lordes called, we conceyve a jelosy had ayenst us, wherof we purpose with Goddes grace to declare us, and to shewe us such as wee be in oure trouthe, duetee and ligeaunce, to oure said Soveraine Lord. . . . Furthermore, we . . . require you . . . that ye standyng the Fadre and Metropolitan of the Chirche of Englonde, wol at oure request make oute, with all possible diligence, the censures of the Chirche, . . . uppon and ayenst all thaim that entende any untrouth, prejudice, hurt or derogation ayenst the estate, prosperite and welfare of oure said Soveraine Lord, or his said land. And that this oure Lettre of oure entent God knoweth, wherin we trust ye wol be partiner, and therof require you of the feith, trouthe and duetee that ye owe to God, to oure said Soveraine Lord, his said land and people, it wol like you to shewe and ministre unto his high Excellence, and to the Lordes of his Counsail, makyng also oure said entent to be shewed to all other to whom it apperteigneth by youre wisdom, for the removyng and overthrawyng of the cedicious and fraudelent blasphemie and defaime untruly savyng youre reverence leyd upon us, oure Lord knoweth.

103.

[The King advanced northwards to meet the Yorkists, and sent the following demand for help. "The Coventry Leet Book," E.E.T.S., 282.]

Trusty and welbeloved, we grete you well; and for certen grete causes moevyng us and toucheng right nygh our persone

and astat, we wyl and desire your at [as?] our speciall trust is in you, that ye, acompanyed withe suche felishep as ye goodely may in their best and most defensable way to do vs service . . . faile not to be with you [? us] wheresoeuer we be in all hast possibull. Yeven undur our signet at our palece of Westmynstre the xvij day of May (1455).

And this letter was delyvered to the Mayre be the hondes of John Metyngham the xxij day of that next foloueng the date of this letter, and the meyre gave hym vjs. viijd. in the name of a reward.

Wherapon the seide meire, the tenoure of this letter be hym well considered lat calle to come afore hym the counsell of this Cite withe his bredurn afore whom this letter was redde and . . . thei ordeyned that an hundred of goode-menne defensably with bowes and arowes, jakked and saletted,¹ arayd, shuld be made redy in all haste possibull to go to our souverenne lorde to seint Albones and to abide withe hym, and to do hym service suche at hit shuld please his highnes to comaunde hem to do.

104.

[First battle of St. Albans, 22 May, 1455. Copy of part of a letter written from Bruges to the Archbishop of Ravenna, 31 May, 1455. Cal. State Papers, Milan, i. 16.]

Postscript on the 3rd of June. I have further news of the battle in England brought by one who came here from Calais. They say that on the 21st of May the King left Westminster with many lords, including the Duke of Somerset, to hold a council at Leicester, eight[y?] miles from London. They went armed because they suspected that the Duke of York would also go there with men at arms. That day they travelled twenty miles to the Abbey of S. Albans. On the 22nd the King set out to continue his journey, but when they were outside the town they were immediately attacked by York's men, and many perished on

¹sallet = light head-piece.

both sides. The Duke of Somerset was taken and forthwith beheaded. With his death the battle ceased at once and, without loss of time, the Duke of York went to kneel before the King and ask pardon for himself and his followers, as they had not done this in order to inflict any hurt upon his Majesty but in order to have Somerset. Accordingly the King pardoned them, and on the 23rd the King and York and all returned to London. On the 24th they made the solemn procession, and now peace reigns. The King has forbidden anyone to speak about it upon pain of death. The Duke of York has the government, and the people are very pleased at this.

105.

[Parliament met on July 9, 1455, and the Yorkists were pardoned. Rot. Parl., v. 282.]

The xxiii day of Juyll, the xxxiii yere of oure Soveraine Lord Kyng Henry the vi^{te}, at Westm', in the grete Counsaill Chambre, tyme of Parlement, in the presence of oure said Soveraine Lord, the Lordes Spirituell and Temporell, in shewyng theire trouth, feith and love that they have and bere to his Highnesse, every Lord Spirituell leiyng his hond uppon his brest, and every Temporell Lord takyng oure said Soveraine Lord be the hande, frely sware and promitted in manere and fourme that folowith.

I promitte unto youre Highnesse by the Feith, and trouth that I owe to God, and to you, that I shall truely and feithfully kept the Ligeaunce that I owe unto you my most Soveraine Lord, and to put me in my devoir to do all that may be to the welfare, honour and saufgard of youre most noble persone, and roiall estate, preeminence and prerogative : and I shall at no tyme will or consent to that myght in eny wyse be or sowne to the hurte or prejudice of youre said most noble Persone, Dignitee, Corone or Estate. And over that, I shall with all my power, resiste and withstonde all theim that wold in eny wyse presume to attempte the contrarie So God me help and his Seyntes.

106.

[In November the King again became ill, and York was appointed Protector for the second time. Rot. Parl., v. 287.]

For as moche as it was uppon Monday last passed declared by the seid Chancellor, to the Communes that be come to this present Parlement, that how at theire request and desire ; the Kyng, by th' advis of the seid Lordes, had named the seid Duc of York to be Protectour and Defensour of this land. . . The said Duc of York saide to all the Lordes ; that howe be it that it liked theire good Lordshippes to desire and name hym to that name and charge, he shuld not take that name and charge uppon hym of presumption of hymself, but onely of the obeissaunce that he oweth to the Kyng our Soverain Lord, and to the Lordes as the apparage of this lande; and he to perfourme theire desires, under theire supportation and aide, wuld take, and toke uppon hym, the name and charge of Protectour of this lande, under suche protestations as he had made and were aggreed by the seid Lordes.

107.

[War with Scotland. (a) The Scots took advantage of the state of England to invade the country. "Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles," C.S., 70.]

This yere the kyng of Scottys with the red face layde sege to Berwyke bothe by water and londe. But he was dryve thensse, and all his ordenaunce and vitayle that was on the water syde leftte be hynde them.

[(b) Attempt of the Scots to secure assistance from the French. Letter from James II of Scotland to Charles VII of France, June, 1456. Stevenson, "Letters and Papers," R.S., i. 323. (Lat.).]

For we have heard of the great and serious quarrel there is between the King of England on the one side, and the Duke of York, the Earl of Salisbury, and others with them, on the other, . . . for these causes and on account of this quarrel, it seems to us a suitable time to send a hostile

force into the realm of England to the advantage of the kingdoms of France and Scotland . . . and if we now let this opportunity slip away, it is not to be hoped that such a one will ever be presented to us again. For this, and for other reasons which have weighed with us, we have promised the most renowned Duke of York aforesaid to help and assist him in this quarrel concerning the insignia and crown of England, as he has tenderly desired of us by sending to us honourable ambassadors and letters.

108.

[Letter from John Bocking to Sir John Fastolf, 9 February, 1456.
"Paston Letters," iii. 74, no. 322.]

This day my Lordes York and Warwyk comen to the Parlement in a good aray, to the noubre of iijc. men, all jakkid and in brigantiens, and noo lord elles, wherof many men mervailed. . . .

The Kyng, as it was tolde me by a grete man, wolde have hym chief and principall counseller, and soo to be called hise chef counseller and lieutenant as longe as hit shuld lyke the Kyng; and hise patent to be made in that forme, and not soo large as it is by Parlement. But soome men thinken it wil ner can otherwise bee; and men speke and devyne moche matere of the comyng this day in suche array to Westminster. And the Lordes speken this day in the Parlement of a greet gleymyng sterre that but late hathe be seen diverse tymes, mervelous in apperyng. The resumpsion, men truste, shall forthe, and my Lordes of Yorkes first power of protectorship stande, and elles not, etc. The Quene is a grete and stronge labourid woman, for she spareth noo peyne to sue hire thinges to an intent and conclusion to hir power. . . .

Written in your place this Moneday of Fastyngange,¹
m^cccclv.

Your humble servant,
J. B.

¹ Shrove-tide.

[From a letter from John Bocking to John Paston, June 7, 1456.
"Paston Letters," iii. 91, no. 334.]

As for tidings, the Kyng is at Shene, the Quene at Chestre ; the Duke of Buk was, as I come hiderward, at Writell, the Erle of Warrewyke at Werrewyke, and the Lords Chaunceller, Tresorier, and th' Erle of Sar'¹ in London, and noo more Lords at the begynnynge this day of the grete Counsaill. Many men say that there shuld be, but thei wote not what. The sege shall as men say, come to Caley and to Guynes, for moche puple come overe the water of Somme, and grete navies on the sea.

Th' Erle of Penbroke is with the Kyng, and noo more lordis. Th' Erle of Richemond and Griffith Such are at werre gretely in Wales. The Comons of Kent, as thei werre wo[n]tte, er not all weel disposid, for there is in doying amongs hem what evere it bee. Of Scotts is here but litell talkyng. My lord York is at Sendall stille, and waytith on the Quene and she up on hym.

110.

[Condition of the country in 1456. First version of "J. Hardyng's Chron.," "Eng. Hist. Rev.," xxvii. 749.]

In euery shire with Jakkes and Salades clene
Myssereule doth ryse and maketh neyghbours werre ;
The wayker gothe benethe, as ofte ys sene,
The myghtyest his quarell wyll preferre,
That pore mennes cause er putte on bakke full ferr ;
Whiche thurgh the pese and law wele conserved
Myght bene amende, and thanke of God deserved.

They kyll your men alway by one and one,
And who say ought he shall be bette doutlesse ;
For in your Reme Justyse of pese bene none
That darr ought now the contekours oppresse ;
Suche sekenesse now hath take thaym and accesse,
Thay wyll nocht wytte of Ryot ne debate,
So comon is it now in eche estate.

¹ Salisbury.

111.

[In August, 1457, the French attacked Sandwich. Letter from the King, September 5, 1457, in reply to one from the City offering to fit out ships, then in the Thames, with men to assist in repelling the French. "Letter Book K," fo. 292.]

Trusty and welbeloved we grete you oftentymes wele and lete you write that this same day . . . we have understande the fervent desire and true ligeance that ye tendirly and humbly bere unto our Royal estate, the whiche hath gretely renoveled and recomforted us wherof as wele as of the notable aide that ye have graunted at this tyme unto us in right notable nombre of men of werre, shippes and all other necessaires expedient for thaym to the repressing and rebuke of thout-rageous malice of our enemyes of Fraunce, nowe travarssing the narwe Se, as it is saide, we thank you with as good wille and hert as we can trusting for undoubted and also praying you that considering this somer season passeth fast, ye wille in alle possible haste prepare and advance yor saide exploit.

112.

[Letter from J. Bokking, 15 March, 1458. "Paston Letters," iii. 127, no. 366.]

To my Maister Fastolf, at Castre, in haste.

Lyke it your maistership to wyte that, as for tidings, the Counsell is, in the fornone, at the Blake Frires, for the ease of resorting of the Lordys that are withinne the toun; and at afternone at the White Frirers in Fletestrete, for the Lordis withowte the toun; and all thing shall come to a good conclusion with God his grace, for the Kyng shall come hidre this weke, and the Quene also, as some men sayn, and my Lord Buk', and Stafford with hire, and moche puple. . . .

Writen at London the Wednesday after Midlenton. . . .

Your humble servaunt,

J. BOKKING.

[An agreement was reached between the two parties on 24 March.]

[From a letter from John Jernyngan to Margaret Paston, 1 June, 1458. Warwick was Captain of Calais. "Paston Letters," III. 129, no. 369.]

On trenite Sondag (May 28), in the mornyng, came tydings unto my Lord of Warwyke that ther were xxviiij sayle of Spaynyards on the se, and wherof ther was xvj. grete schippis of forecastell; and then my lord went and manned fyve schippis of forecastell, and iiij. carvells,¹ and iiij. spynnes,² and on the Monday, on the mornyng eftyr Trinite Sondag, we met to gedyr afore Caleis, at iiij. at the klokke; and ther we toke vj. of her schippis, and they slowe of oure men aboute iiij^{xx} and hurt a ij. hondred of us ryght sore, and ther wer slayne on theyr parte abowte xij^{xx} and hurt a v hondred of them. . . . And as men sayne, ther was not so gret a batayle upon the se this xl. wyntyre. And for sothe, we wer well and trewly bette; and my Lord hathe sent for mor scheppis, and lyke to fyzthe to gedyr agayne in haste.

114.

[By 1459 the two parties were once more arming. "Eng. Chron.," C.S., 79.]

In this same tyme, the reame of Englonde was oute of alle good governance, as it had be meny dayes before, for the kyng was simple and lad by couetous counseyle, and owed more then he was worthe. His dettes encreased dayly, but payment was there none; alle the possessyons and lorde-shyppes that perteyned to the croune the kyng had geuen away, some to lordes and some to other simple persones, so that he had almoste noughte to lefe onne. And suche ymposicionen as were put to the peple, as taxes, tallages, and quynzymes,³ alle that came from theym was spended on wayne, for he helde no householde ne meyntened no warres. For these mysgouernaunces, and for many other, the hertes of the peple were turned away from thayme that had the

¹ Small light ships.

² Pinnaces.

³ Fifteenths.

londe in gouernance, and theyre blyssyng was turnyd in to cursyng.

The quene with such as were of her affynyte rewled the reame as her lyked, gaderyng ryches innumerable. The offices of the reme, and specially the erle of Wylshyre tresorere of Engelond for to enryche hymself, peled the pore peple, and disheryted ryghtefulle eyres, and dede meny wronges. The quene was defamed and desclaundered, that he that was called Prince was nat hir sone, but a bastard gotten in avoutry; wherefore she dreding that he shulde nat succede hys fadre in the crowne of Engelond, allyed vnto her alle the knyghtes and squyers of Chestreshyre for to haue theyre benyuolence, and helde open householde among theym; and made her sone called the Prince geue a lyuery of Swannys to alle the gentilmenne of the contre, and to many other thorought the lande; trustyng thorough thayre streynghite to make her sone kyng; makyng pryue menys to some of the lordes of Engelond for to styre the kyng that he shulde resygne the crowne to hyre sone: but she coude nat bryng her purpos aboute.

115.

[Letter to the people of Beverley, 11 September, 1459. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Report on the MSS. of the Corporation of Beverley, 139. From the Town Minute Book.]

By the King.

Trusty and well beloved, We have understande by dayly report made to us how divers persons of the northe partes of this our Reaume make great assembles and gaderyng of people for what cause we understande not, How be it that it cannot be thought but it sowneth greetly to the trouble and subverting of our pees and lawes. Forsomuch we, of the greet and singuler truste that we have in you, wil, desire, pray you specially, and also charge you, that with alle thee might and strength that ye can make ye addresse you towardses oure persone in alle haste, to entende and assiste us with other our trewe subyeets to the rebuking and setting of parte of the

that wold anything presume to attempte ayenste oure persone or our saide pees and lawes . . . yeven under oure prive seel at oure castel of Kenilworth the xi day of Septembre. To oure trusty and well beloved the Bailiff and Burgeys of the toune of Beverlay.

[The twelve governors thereupon dispatched armed men and archers and arranged for the raising of a loan.]

116.

[According to Stow, Warwick issued this manifesto on his return from Calais in 1459. B.M. MS. Harley 543, fo. 164. For a similar one issued in 1460, see "Eng. Chron.," C.S., 86-90.]

1. For as moche as the comon weale and the good politike lawes here aforen notably and vertuously vsed ordeyned for the kepinge and mayntayninge of the sayde comon wele, the rest and peas of the Realme, the cource of marchandyse, the due and evenly minystringe of justice and rightuysnesse with in the land bene pitiouslye ovarianted and as who saythe forgotten.

2. Also for that the mighty croune of our sovereyne lord is so unmesurably and outrageously spoyled and robbed from his lyvelods and pocessyons pertayninge there unto wherthrughe his estate shuld be susteyned in as greate honor and might as his noble progenitors have bene here afor so that in these dayes unnethe eny groundes may be found all onlie for the sustentation of his houshold thoroghe all many othar greate charges of necessitie be required for his estate but by unlefll meanes depeynablye and agaynst all gods lawe be sought by novelries by one way unto the greate hurte of marchants and by an othar waye upon the pore people grete extoreion of theyr goods and cattalls by the minstars of the Kyngs housholde without payment, contrary to Gods pleasure and the land's lawe, etc.

3. Also for that the greate abhominable mordars, roberies, periuries and extorcions in many wyse with maynteynaunces of the same openly used and continued in the realme with

greate violence be not punished but favoured and cherished ne drede there in had vnto god ne the churche, ne the mini-stars here in there of spared or obeyed, ne the verrey and due regarde yevne vnto the Kynge to his lawes or commaundements to his personne in his counseyle ne to the lordes spirituall or temporall in his counsell, ne to hys juges or officers in his lawe settinge in execution of the same, etc.

4. Allso that where our soveraigne lord of his blessed conversation is of his oune noble disposicion as gracieusli aplyed to the sayd comon wele and to the reformynge of these promises as ane prince Christen yet certayne parsones for their owne covetise there singuler Reule and there propre wille they have to shewe theyre vttermost malice agaynst suche as god knouithe bene the verreye lovers of the saym comon wele and of the profite that therby shuld growe vnto the Kynge subtilly and craftely shadowe and hyd all thire promises from his knowlege.

5. Also for so moche as no land Christian may longe endure in prosperity where of the prince is so robbed of his lyvelode and knowethe not the wretchednese of his land and subiects thovarthrowinge of his lawes and good rules the exile of justice out of it, the great hurte of marchandise ne the continuell murders robberes periuries extorcions, and maynteynaunces there of, ne the violent malice of persons so rigorously disposed but that neds it muste fall to ruene and not may be holpen without that the sufficiaunt and convenient remedies be the hastelyar founden and purveyed therefore.

We therefore seyne these muscheves so perllous and therto know vnto our enemyes out of this land, where vpon it is demed they take corage tenterprise the subduinge and losse of all the land for the tendar love that we bere vnto the comon wele and prosperitie of this realme and proudly to the Kynges estate, dispose vs with lords of lyke disposicion as with the grace of God and goo vnto the presence of our sayd sovereygne lord and as true subiects and liegmen lovers of the sayde comon wele, and lovers of the honor of his estate shewe ther vnto the inconvenients above rehersed and there

vpon to beseehe his good grace as lowly as we can that he will vouchsave to redeme his land and subgetts from the ieopardye of the sayd mischeves, and by thadvice of the grete lords of his blood that it will lyke hym to put his moaste truste noble persons in devoure to the redresse of the same and to punyshe evenly the causes of the sayde myscheves aftar theyr desawetes and demerites in example of all other here aftar, and that it will please his good grace tordeyne suche governaunce for thobservynge of his lovars here aftar reste of his land and subiects for supportinge of his sayde royall estate for the course of merchaundise and for the chastisyng of suche errours and mischeves afore rehersed to thentent that his subiects love, obeye, and drede his estate and lawes as ever aforene they have done, and his enemyes to be put in as greate fere of his might as ever they were of any of his progenitors wherby he his land and people may growe to as greate worshipec and profyte as they have bene holden of aforene amonges all cristen Realmes, where vpon we notifie vnto you that to this entente we woll employ our persons and labours about the Kyngs moste noble person and there to be assystaunt yf it be his pleasure nor presuminge to take vpon vs any private rule or entre into eny mattar betwene eny estate of this land and any of vs or to eny quarelle or revengement othar then lawe woll but only entendynge with gods mercye to the performinge and accomplishinge the causes afore seyde, etc.

[Battle of Blore Heath, 23 September, 1459. "Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles," C.S., 72.]

The Erle of Warwyke came from Caleys thorowe London, and the Erle of Salysbery went from Medlame for to mete withe the Duke of Yorke and Warwyke his sonne with iiij Mⁱ men, and the quene lay by the wey with xiiij Mⁱ men to stoppe his wey. And he toke a felde manly at Blorehethe the xxiii day of Septembre, and faught and slowe many and

put the remnant to flight, and helde forthe his wey in purpos to Ludlowe, where Kyng Henry came with 1 Mⁱ men a gayne the Duke of Yorke, the Erle of Marche, the Erle of Rotlonde, the Erle of Warwyke, the Erle of Salysbury, the whiche never entendid to be otherwyse than feythefull and trewe liege men to the kyng, but crowelly were banysshed oute of this londe, and not excepte like as thei were worthi. And so ther departed the Duke of Yorke and his sonne Rotlond thorowe Godis helpe to Irelonde; and the Erle of Marche, the Erle of Warwyke, and the Erle of Salysbury, and Sir John Wenloke in a litell vessell, Almighti God gided hem oute of the Weste Contre by the see to Calys.

118.

Parliament met at Coventry on 20 November, 1459, and the Yorkist leaders were attainted. Rot. Parl., v. 349.]

Wherefore please it youre Highnes, these premisses considered, by the advise and assent of youre Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx, and of youre Communes, in this youre present Parlement assembled, and by the auctorite of the same, to ordeyne, establish and enact, that the seid . . . Richard Duc of York, Edward Erle of Marche, Richard Erle of Warrewyk, Richard Erle of Salesbury, Edmond Erle Rutlond, (etc.) . . . for their said traiterous reryng of weyre ayenst youre seid moost noble persone, at Ludeford afore specified, in the Feldes of the same, in forme afore rehersed, be reputed, taken, declared, ajugged, demed, atteynted of high Treson, as fals traitours and enemyes ayenst youre moost noble Persoon, high Mageste, Croune and Dignitee. . .

The Kyng agreeth to this Acte. so that be vertue therof he be not put from his prerogatyf, to shewe such mercy and grace as shall please his Highnes, accordyng to his Regale and Dignitee, to eny persone or persones whos names be expressed in this Acte, or to eny other that myght be hurt be the same.

[A defence of the proscription of the Yorkists, written in the latter part of 1459 or beginning of 1460. B.M. Royal MS, 17 D, xv.; "Eng. Hist. Rev.," xxvi. 512.]

Yf ye tender my desyres ye shall procure an universalle quyet unto you alle, and yf ye dyspyse them to ymportable infortune wolle you comprehende and envyroune withoute hope of delyverance. Tharfor it is good that ye encline to myne entente for your syngulere welth and for the generall consolaccion of alle this contre. . . .

It were none other but cruelnes to have mercy spon thamm, the which so many tymes have offended. For in lykewyse as the largycion and yeft of eny other mann his good is called theft in the lawe, so were it grete extortion and cruelnes to exerceyse mercy or myldnes in such thynges as longen alonly to justice and rigoure. And tharfor . . . I say the kynges clemencye and myldnes in this partye were none other but wronge and cruelnes. . . .

Lysten welle to me now. I remembre that amonge many thynges by the whiche the commone welthe of a royaume stondyth the most principall is this, a due subjeccion with fayithful and voluntarie honoure and thair appertenaunce to be yolden to the soverain in the sayd royaume and that none incompatible estat be usurped by ony personne; also that thay that have undre the kyng a governance of his peple that they ben dilygent to the kepyng of the kynges lawes and that no wronge be done in ony wyse, but that alle controversies and debates civile or criminalle, reale or personale, ben decided by the kynges lawes withoute mayntenance or wylfull interrupcion of the cours of justice, and in cas that ony thinge falle of the whiche the determinacion is not expressed in the common lawe, thann the prince moste be asked and inquired and by his excedyng auctorite and prudens of his conseyle and expikan¹ shal be made tharopon, and so that no thinge be done by singular wylle and senceall affeccion. . .

¹? explication, *op. cit.*, 518 n. 19.

Lord God, what reysorable answere may be yef for the lordis, if they be questioned for what cause they cam first ayenst the King into the Blake Heth, afterwardys to Sent Albonn . . . Trow ye they will have procured the commone welth? Certenly I hold him not very tru that thynketh other wyse but that thaire intent was so subverted to commone welthe as it may be proved expressly by thairgument of thar demynynge towardis the kynges peple. . . . All the contres aboute knowen well what extorcions, what injuries and oppressions, what partie makynge and division thay did and caused to be done. How many prive conventicles undir thaire tuicion and support have ben made to the subversion and misdrawynge of many men, and at whos occasion the kyngese peple was daily slayne and muredred. Thes ben notable poyntes of preservynge of the common welth. But here a worde and an ende hereof. In case it hadd be so that the good publique of this royaume hath ben vacillant in ony wyse and in perill of decay, what auctorite and pouer had thay to reforme it, the kyng present and not yevynge thaim commyssioun tharof? Ye say perhaps that it longeth to every persoune of the commynalte to oppose himselfe to the ruynes of the good publique. But it is not so whann autoryte laketh. . . .

I wolle well that the strynght of any region stondeth moche in the multitude of good knyghtes. But say thus with me, of good knyghtes and tru, hawynge no syngulere wyylfulnesse taccomplishe thaire owne wyll but oonely that ben condescendynge to the commaundementis of the soueran. Were your lordys of such dysposicion? ye may not say it with trouthe, I wis. Is hit not then better to have fewe or nonne of such as thay ben, than is to amplyfie the nombre of thaim or to suffre hem to abyde. Also for that, that thay ben of olde auneytrie, of grete myght and strenght and gretly in the favoure of the peple as for the fyrste hit redoundeth the more to thaire abhominable ingratitude and unkyndenes, considerynge that thar furste exordye and begenng cam of the kyngis large munyficence. . . . As for the favoure of the

peple thaire is no grounde of sure argument, for by cause hit is so varyable and for the moost parte it groweth of oppynable conceytis, and not of trowith. Hit is a schrewyde consequence: The peple favoureth hem, *ergo* thay be good. . . .

And so I say that for any fere of youre ridiculous reisons hit is no nede to yewe hem pardon or mercy, but the rather to exercise aye(n)ste hem all the pointes of zigournes, that may be thoght to thaire irreparable destrucion as I have oftene tymes said her before.

120.

[Illustrations of the incapacity of the Government. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, vi. 576, dated 5 February, 1460.]

Whereas the lordships which came into the King's hands by the forfeiture of Richard, Duke of York, and Richard, Earl of Warwick, are detained from the King's possession by their adherents, and the revenues of divers lordships pertaining to the Prince of Wales are detained from his use by reason such rebellion, the King, to repress the rebellion, has granted to the prince, by advice of the council, 500 marks yearly for life from the issues of the lordships of Uske, Caerlion, Glamorgan, Morgannok and Bergeveny.

121.

[The return of the Yorkists, 1460. (a) "Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles," C.S., 72.]

This yere the kyng graunted to the Duke of Somersett for to be Capteyne of Caley. And anone he made him redy thedirwarde; but the Erle of Warwyke was there afore and kepte him that he myght not londe there; and so he was conveyed to Gynes and his pepylle, and assone as he was with in the castell he made stronge werre a gaynes Caley, and they of Caley a gaynes him. And then he sent in to Englonde to the kyng for more pepull. And so the kyng sent the Lorde Ryveres and his sonne Antony with iiij^e men for to stenthe the Duke of Somersett. And as they wer at

Sandwyche the Erle of Warwyke had knowleche and a none he made a sawte over with a godely felloweshippe and loded at Sandwyche, and toke the Lorde Reveres and his sonne and distrussyd all his pepull. And so they were brought to Caleys a yenes her will. . . . And that same tyme Moumfford was made capteyne of iiii^e men for to goo helpe the Duke of Somerset. And as they were at Sandwyche the Erle of Warwyke had knowleche of them, and a none he made oute a pussaunce of pepulle and beseged Sandwyche, and wanne the towne, and toke Moumford, and many of his men slayne; and so they led him to Caleys, and so led him to Risebanke, and ther the shipmen smote of his hede, and ij of his men hedis. And sone after came the Erle of Marche, the Erle of Warwyke, the Erle of Salysbury, and Sir John Wenlok, and the Lorde Audeley from Caleys, and loded at Sandwyche; and so they came to London warde and ther mett with hem the Lorde Cobham and other statys and comyns of Kentt, and so they came to London. And the Lorde Scalys was that time in London, and he desired to be capteyn of the cite but the comenys wolde not have him. Then the Lord Scalys, the Lord Lovell, the Erle of Kendale, Thorpe and Broune of Kentt, and many galyemen, with other peopulle, went to the Toure of London, and made grete werre a yenes the cite. And in the mene tyme thes other lordes sent to the meire and to the states of the cite for to have all ther hertes. And a none ther was sent sertayne aldermen and comynes for to well come them, and so they came with all ther pussaunce of pepull in to Southwerke. And on the morowe they came to the nombre of xliiⁱ, to London Brigge, and toke doune suche a hedis as wer there, and beryed them at Seint Mangnus; and so they rode forthe to Seint Powlys and ther offred. And there mett with them the Erchebysshope of Cawnterbury withe many other Bysshoppes and the meire and the aldermen with all the states of the Cite; and ther was declared all the poyntis and pardon to al the realme. And than all thos lordis went to the Grey Ferys and helde ther a counsell on the Thursday. And on the Fryday they went to the Gelde

halle, and ther was endited many persones and put in presone. And sone after rode the Erchebysshoppe of Caunterbury, the Bysshoppe of Excester, and many other bysshoppes, and a legett,¹ and the Erle of Marche, and the Erle of Warywyke, the Lord Faconbryge, the Lorde Bowser and his sonnes, with myche other pepull of Kent, Southesex, and Essex, tawarde the kynge with grete ordenaunce; and the Erle of Salysbury, the Lorde Cobham, and Sir John Wenlock, were lefte in the cite of London with the meire. And forthe with the Lord Cobham and the shoreffes went and laide grete ordenaunce a yenes the Toure on the towne syde, and Sir John Wenlok and Harow mercer, kept on Seint Kateryns side, and myche harme done on bothe parties. And in all placis of London was grete watche for doute of tresoun. And then they skyrmysed to gedir, and myche harme was done dayly. [Battle of Northampton.] And on Thorsdye, the ix² day of Julle, was the batayll be syde Northampton in the Newfelde be twene Harryngton and Sandyfforde, and ~~that~~ was the kynge take in his tente. . . . And than the Erle of Marche, and the Erle of Warwyke, with other lordis, brought the kynge to Northampton with myche rialte. And so the kynge with his lordis came to London. . . . And the Erle of Salysbury rode a yenes the kynge withe myche rialte; and ther was called and sett a Parlement.

[(b) The Tower surrendered on 19 July. Reply of the Mayor to Earl of Kendal, Lord Scales, and others in the Tower who had demanded a reason for war being made upon them by Yorkist lords, who were admitted to the city (circ. July, 1460). R. R. Sharpe, "London and the Kingdom," iii. 384, from Journal 6, fo. 250b.]

We answeere and seye that ye and your ffelesship have began and made no³ werre by diverse assault shetyng of gonnez and otherwise by the which the kinges treu liege people aswell the inhabitauntz of this Citee men, women and children as other have be murdred slayn maemed and

¹ Francesco Coppini, Bishop of Terni.

myscheved in sundry wise. And soo that that hath be doon by us is onely of youre occasioun in oure defence. And suche as we take for prisouners been for the attemptatz occasiouns and assaultz by theym doon as aforesaid in breche of the kinges peas, and for dispoillyng of the kinges treu people of their vitailz and goodes without due contentacion or paiement hadde in that behalve contrary to good equite and all lawe.

122.

[Coppini wished to induce the English to invade France, in order to prevent French interference in Naples, Sforza being an opponent of the Angevin claimant to the throne who was supported by the French King. Coppini had given his support to the Yorkists as the best means of securing this. *Cal. State Papers, Milan*, i. 29, no. 40. Written in sympathetic ink between the lines of a letter from Francesco Coppini, Bishop of Terni, Papal Legate, to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan. Dated 6 August, 1460.]

If the lords here, the kinsmen of the king, who through my hands have won back the state, had some incitement, they would go to France with a considerable force to vindicate the claims of this kingdom.

They would like to see honours conferred upon me, as that would produce a good impression, especially among the people. If this is obtained they believe that in a month they could collect 100,000 men, without effort, because I collected so many in a week, when I delivered them in my house these last days, through the great authority of the Church and also of my legation. . . . I can assure you that in a few days I hope a marriage alliance will be concluded between the Duke of Burgundy and these lords, kinsmen of the king here, which will be very apropos of the matter above.

123.

[Parliament met on 7 October, 1460. *Rot Parl.*, v. 374.]

To the Kyng oure Soverayne Lord ; Prayen the Commens in this present Parlement assembled. That where divers

seditious and evill disposed persones, noo regard havyng to the drede of God, ne to the hurt of the prosperous estate of youre moost noble persone, ne of this youre Realme, Synes-terly and ymportunely laboured youre Highnes, to somon and calle a Parlement to be holden at youre Citee of Coventre, the xx day of Novembr', the yere of youre noble reigne xxxviith, oonly to th' entent to distroy certayne of the grete, noble and faithful and true Lordes and estates of youre blode, and other of youre true Liege people of this youre Realme, . . . which Parlement was unduely sommoned, and a grete parte of the Knyghts for dyvers Shyres of this your Realme, and many Citizeins and Burgeys for dyvers Citees and Burghs, apperyng in the same, were named, retourned and accepted som of theym without dieu and free election, and som of theym withoute any election, ayenst the cours of youre lawes, and the libertees of the Commens of this youre Realme, by the mean and labour of the seid seditious persones; . . .

Please it youre Highnes to conside the premisses, and . . . to ordeyne, enacte, establish, by th' avis and assent of the Lordes Spirituell and Temporell in this present Parlement assembled, and by auctorite of the same, that the seid Parlement holden at youre seid Citee of Coventre, be voide and taken for noo Parlement; and that all Acts, Statutis, and Ordenaunces, by the autorite of the same made, be reversed, adnulled, cassed, irritate, repeled, revoked, voide, and of noo force ne effect. . . .

Le Roy le voet.

[The Duke of York then set forth his claim to the throne. See I. D. Thornley, "England under the Yorkists," 1-7.]

BOOK II. CONSTITUTIONAL.

A. PARLIAMENT

1.

[From a case heard in the Exchequer Chamber in which The Master of the Rolls was summoned to give information as to proceedings in Parliament. Year Books, ed. R. Tottell, 33 Hen. VI, fo. xvii. (Fr.).]

If any bill, be it private or otherwise, be first presented to the Commons and is passed by them, it is customary for the bill to be endorsed in this form: Be it delivered to the Lords. And if the King and the Lords agree to the bill, and do not wish to alter or change it in any way, it is not the custom for them to endorse the bill, but it is given to the clerk of Parliament to be enrolled, and if it is a common bill it is enrolled and enacted, but if it is a private bill it is not enrolled but is filed on the file and that is sufficient, but if the party wishes to have it entered in order to be more secure, it may be enrolled. And if the Lords wish to make any change in the bill, if the change is such that the Commons have already agreed to it, then it is not returned to the Commons; thus, if the Commons grant Tunnage and Poundage for four years, and the Lords consent to the grant, but only for two years, then it is not returned to the Commons because their consent may be assumed, but if, on the other hand the Commons make a grant of Tunnage and Poundage or of something similar for two years, and the Lords prolong the grant to four years, in this case the bill must be returned to the Commons, and the Lords must draw up a note of their intention or else must endorse the common bill to this effect—

The assent of the Lords is given for a period of four years. And when the bill has been returned to the Commons, if they do not wish to agree to it then it may not be enacted ; but if the Commons wish to agree with the Lords, then the Commons endorse their answer on the margin at the bottom of the bill in this form : The Commons have agreed to the note of the Lords attached to this bill ; and then it is delivered to the clerk of Parliament. And if a bill is first of all presented to the Lords and is passed, then it is not the custom for them to endorse it in any way but it is sent to the Commons, and in such a case, if the bill passes the Commons it is endorsed by them in this form : The Commons have assented ; and this proves that the bill has first passed the Lords.

2.

[Distinction between Statutes and "other acts" of Parliament. Nicolas, "Proc.," iii. 22. (Lat.).]

On the same day (23 Jan., 1423) were read by the clerk of Parliament, in the presence of the Lords, the acts drawn up and passed in the last Parliament. He was commanded to show the said acts to the King's justices of both benches, in order that they might determine which should be statutes, and that a fair copy might be made of them and that they might afterwards be shown to the Lords and proclamation made of them. And of the other acts touching the administration of the Lords of the Council and the governance of the realm a copy was to be made by the clerk of the King's Council, and all the copies were to be enrolled in the Chancery as the custom is.

3.

[Protestation of the Commons against the enrolment of an act in a form different from that which had been determined in Parliament, 1401. Rot. Parl., iii. 465. (Fr.).]

On Thursday, the said Commons showed to our Lord the King, how that on the Wednesday last, that is to say on

9 March, the Commons had particularly shown him that the article concerning the modification and the Statute of Provisors, made in the last Parliament, held in the first year of his reign, had been otherwise enacted and enrolled on the Roll of Parliament than had been determined in this last Parliament aforesaid. Whereupon the Commons requested our said Lord the King, that this matter might be examined by the Lords spiritual and temporal then in Parliament. This request the King granted; protesting however, that it was not the King's will, that any such examination should be made after such record had been made in Parliament, and that this should not be cited as an example or precedent at any future time.

4.

[The Commons demand that answers to petitions be given before a grant is made, 1401. Rot. Parl., iii. 458. (Fr.).]

The said Commons showed our said Lord the King that, in many Parliaments held before this time, they had had no answer to their common petitions until they had made a grant of an aid or subsidy to our Lord the King, and for this reason requested our said Lord the King, that for the greater satisfaction and comfort of the said Commons he would be pleased to concede that the said Commons might be informed of the answers to these said petitions before they should make any grant. Upon this they were informed that in this matter the King wished to consult with the Lords of Parliament, and to do that which seemed best to him according to the counsel of the Lords. Later, that is to say on the last day of Parliament, they were informed that it had never been the habit or custom in the time of his father or predecessors, to give them any answer to their petitions, or any information concerning them, until they had dealt with and concluded all the other matters of the Parliament, whether it were the making of a money grant or otherwise. And further the King would not in any way change the good customs and usages of old times,

5.

[The Commons' assertion that they form no part of Parliament considered as a Court of Law, 1399. Rot. Parl., iii. 427. (Fr.).]

The Commons . . . requested the King, that since the judicial business of Parliament appertains only to the King and the Lords, and not to the Commons, unless it shall please the King, of his special favour, to inform them, for their satisfaction, of particular judicial matters, that no record might be made in Parliament against the liberties of the said Commons, showing that they are or shall be parties to any judicial decisions given or to be given in Parliament. To this they received an answer from the Archbishop of Canterbury, by command of the King, that the Commons are petitioners and demandants, and that the King and Lords have had from all time, and shall have the right of conducting judicial business in Parliament, as the Commons have said, save that for the making of a statute or of a money grant or subsidy, or for such matters as are done for the common welfare of the realm, the King particularly requires their counsel and assent.

6.

[Summons of Parliament during the King's absence. Stat.
8 Hen. V, c. 1. S.R., n. 203.]

It is ordained and stablished, that if in time to come, our said Sovereign Lord the King, being beyond the sea, cause to summon his Parliament in this realm by his writs under the teste of his Lieutenant . . . and after the Summons of such Parliaments gone out of Chancery, our Sovereign Lord the King arrive in this realm, that for such arrival of the same our Sovereign Lord, such Parliament shall not be dissolved but in the same afterward our Sovereign Lord the King shall proceed without new summons of the same.

7.

[Answers to Parliamentary petitions during the King's absence from England, 1420. Rot. Parl., iv. 128. (Fr.).]

The Commons request, that it may please our most high and mighty prince the Duke of Gloucester, Protector of England, to ordain by the authority of this present Parliament, that all the petitions presented by the said Commons to the said most high and mighty Protector of England in this present Parliament, may be answered and decided upon within this realm of England, and during the sitting of this present Parliament.

"Soit advisee par le roy."¹

8.

[Connection between members and their constituents. Parliament is prorogued because Christmas is approaching and for the following reason, 17 December, 1423. Rot. Parl., iv. 200. (Fr.).]

That the commons aforesaid may, each of them, declare and expound to his neighbours in his county or borough² the great needs of the country, such as had been shown and declared to them by the said lords of Parliament, in order that, the said needs being explained to and known by the whole commonalty of the realm, they may take them to heart the more lovingly and tenderly, and the more readily provide a remedy.

9.

[Remonstrance addressed by the King to the Lords spiritual and temporal for non-attendance in Parliament, 15 December, 1455, Nicolas, "Proc.," vi. 279.]

By the King.

Trusty and welbeloved. Ye untrestande right wel that for grete causes and considerations concernyng the wele of us

¹ This answer is probably equivalent to a refusal of assent.

² "En sa pais,"

ure landes and subgettes we ordeyned this oure present Parlement to be assembled, and directed unto you as a lorde of this our reame oure writte charging you to come to oure said Parlement and willed you to have entended to ye same, trustyng ye wold so have doon according to youre dutee . . . notwithstandinge ye have forborne youre attendaunce to oure saide Parlement beyng absent at youre plesire, not taking to hert so tenderly ye wele of us as we supposed ye wolde have doo. For somoche we wolle and charge you that puttyng aside all excusations ye come and be at oure paloys of Westminster the xiiij. day of January next commyng there to entende with othre upon oure saide Parlement to the whiche day we have prorogued the same, latyng you wite if ye doo not soo we shall not oonly be displeased with you but ye and all othre that come not shall renne into like paynes or gretter as have ben in oure afore this tyme and leide upon suche as have absented them and forborn to come to oure Parlement for the tyme beyng.

10.

[Claim of John, Earl of Arundel, to be summoned to Parliament as Earl of Arundel in virtue of his tenure of the lordship of Arundel. He had been previously summoned as John Arundell de Arundell, Chivaler Rot. Parl., iv. 441. (Fr.).]

May it please the King, our Sovereign Lord, to receive your humble liege John, Earl of Arundel, now in your service in your Realm of France, in his seat in your Parliament and Council, as Earl of Arundel; considering that his ancestors, Earls of Arundel, Lords of the Castle, Honour, and Lordship of Arundel, took their seat in the Parliaments and Councils of your Progenitors, time out of mind, by reason of the aforesaid Castle, Honour, and Lordship, to which is adjoined and annexed the said title of Earl; of which Castle, Honour, and Lordship the said suppliant is at present seised.

[*Ibid.*, 144. (Lat.).]

Our Lord the King by the advice and assent of the Prelates, Dukes, Earls and Barons, in this present Parliament

assembled (restores) the same John now Earl of Arundel, to the place and seat of the Earls of Arundel in the Parliaments and Councils of the King, as has been the use and custom of old time.

11.

[Authority of Parliament. (a) The King's defence of his prerogative, 1411. Rot. Parl., iii. 658.]

On Saturday the 19th day of December, which was the last day of Parliament, the Commons came before the King and the Lords in Parliament . . . and there the Speaker, on behalf of the said Commons, told how the King had sent the Chancellor of England to explain to the said Commons a certain article drawn up in the last Parliament, and the said Speaker, in the name of the said Commons, prayed our lord the King to let them know his will concerning the said article. Our lord the King answered and said, that he wished to maintain his liberty and prerogative, that he might have, enjoy and use them in all points as fully as any of his noble ancestors or predecessors, before his time. To this the said Speaker, in the name of the said Commons, and also the Commons themselves, of their common assent, were well agreed, therefore the King thanked them, and said, that he wished to have and to enjoy as great a liberty, prerogative, and freedom as any of his ancestors had in times passed before him, and thereupon, the same our lord the King, in full Parliament, annulled the said article and everything consequent and dependent upon it in all points.

[(b) Relation of statute law to common law. From a case which concerned the interpretation of an act of Parliament. Year Books, ed. R. Tottell, 33 Hen. VI, fo. xviii. (Fr.).]

Fortescue. It is an act of Parliament, and we wish to be well advised before we annul an act made in Parliament, and peradventure the matter should wait until the next Parliament, and then we may be informed by them of certain matters, but in any case we wish to have advice as to what should be done.

[(c) The sanction for statute law. Peacock, "Repressor of overmuch-blaming of the clergy." R.S., i. 22.]

If the King of Englonde dwellid in Gascony, and wolde send a noble longe letter or epistle into Englonde, both to iungs and to othere men, that ech of hem schulde kepe the pointis of the lawe of Englonde . . . yet it oughte not be said that thilk epistle of the King groundid eny of the lawis or governancis of Englonde, for her ground is had to hem bifore thilk epistle of the King and that bi acte and decre of the hool Parliament of Englonde, which is verrey ground to all the lawis of Englonde, though thilk epistle of the King . . . had not been writun.

12.

[Statutes concerning elections of Knights of the Shire.

(a) 7 Hen. IV, c. 15. S.R., ii. 156.]

That from henceforth the elections of such knights shall be made in the form as followeth; That is to say, at the next county, to be holden after the delivery of the writ of the Parliament, proclamation shall be made in the full county of the day and place of the Parliament, and that all they that be there present, as well suitors duly summoned for the same cause, as other, shall attend to the election of knights for the Parliament; and then in the full county they shall proceed to the election freely and indifferently, notwithstanding any request or commandment to the contrary; and after that they be chosen, the names of the persons so chosen, be they present or absent, shall be written in an indenture under the seals of all them that did choose them, and tacked to the same writ of the Parliament; which indenture, so sealed and tacked, shall be holden for the sheriff's return of the said writ, touching the knights of the shires.

[(b) 1 Hen. V, c. 1. *Ibid.*, 170.]

That the knights of the shire which from henceforth shall be chosen in every shire, be not chosen unless they be resident within the shire(s) where they shall be chosen, the day of the date of the writ of the summons of the Parliament;

and that the knights and esquires, and others which shall be choosers of those knights of the shires, be also resident within the same shires, in manner and form as is aforesaid. And moreover, it is ordained and established, that the citizens and burgesses of the cities and boroughs be chosen men, citizens and burgesses resiant, dwelling and free in the same cities and boroughs, and no other in any wise.

[(c) 8 Hen. VI, c. 7. *Ibid.*, 243.]

The knights of the shires to be chosen within the same realm of England to come to the Parliaments hereafter to be holden, shall be chosen in every county by people dwelling and resident in the same, whereof every one of them shall have free tenement to the value of forty shillings by the year at the least above all charges . . . and such as have the greatest number of them that may expend forty shillings by year and above, as afore is said, shall be returned by the sheriffs of every county, knights for the Parliament, by indentures sealed betwixt the said sheriffs and the said choosers so to be made.

[(d) 10 Hen. VI, c. 2. *Ibid.*, 273.]

That the knights of all counties within the said Realm . . . shall be chosen in every county by people dwelling and resiant in the same, whereof every man shall have freehold, to the value of xl.s. by the year at the least above all charges, within the same county where any such chooser will meddle with any such election.

[(e) 23 Hen. VI, c. 14. This statute also made the regulations in Stat. 7 Hen. IV, concerning indentures to be returned by the sheriff, of equal force in borough elections. *Ibid.*, 342.]

So that the knights of the shires for the Parliament hereafter to be chosen, shall be notable knights of the same counties for which they shall be chosen or otherwise such notable esquires, gentlemen of the same counties, as shall be able to be knights; and no man to be such knight as standeth in the degree of a yeoman and under.

[An indenture returned with the writ for election by the sheriff, in accordance with Stat. 23 Hen. VI, see above, p. 158. The franchise in certain boroughs which had a sheriff was upon the same basis as that of the shires. In Newcastle, the additional qualification of freedom of the city was required. P.R.O. Parliamentary Writs and Returns, Bundle 16. 1459.]

This indenture made at the town of Newcastle on Tyne in "pleno comitatu" of the said town held at the same town on Wednesday the seventh day of November, in the thirty-eighth year of King Henry the sixth after the Conquest, testifies that a proclamation of the Parliament of our Lord the King to be held at Coventry on the twentieth day of the month aforesaid, was made by Henry Ffouler, sheriff of the town aforesaid, by authority of a writ of our Lord the King directed to him and sown on to the back of this indenture, as is more fully specified in the same writ. John Chambre, Alan Bird, William Rothom, Robert Baxter, John Baxter, John Dent, George Rotherford, Nicholas Wetwang, Alan Carier, Thomas Cudbert, John Obyngton, John Mappas, John Watson, John Pert, William Ffournes, William Johnson, William Bacon, John Elleson, Robert Moreton, William Sele, John Ogle, John Strother, Thomas Stalker, William Couper, Henry Morpath, Thomas Castell, James Clerk, John Bover, John Yong, William Johnson, Walter Fflecher, Robert Brown, Robert Kechyn, John Hudson, and Robert Huet, burgesses of the town aforesaid, who were present at the proclamation aforesaid, and freely and indifferently chose John Richardson and John Penreth, two burgesses dwelling and resident in the said town, from among the more wise men of sufficient standing of the said town, to come and attend on the day and at the place aforesaid to the parliament aforesaid there to be held. And these John Richardson and John Penreth shall have full and sufficient authority for themselves and the city aforesaid to take part in, and to give consent to, those things which shall there be ordained by the common counsel of the realm of

England. To this beareth witness by this indenture both the sheriff aforesaid and the aforesaid John Chambre. . . . [Here all the names are repeated] and to it they have put their seals. Dated at the town of Newcastle on Tyne, Wednesday, the day and year above said.

14.

[(b) A borough election. King's Lynn, 12 April, 1425. Records of the Borough of King's Lynn, Assembly Book, no 1. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Rep. xi. pt. 2, App. 158. (Lat.)]

And then the Mayor exhibited the King's brief for a Parliament, running in these words, etc. :—

And the Mayor chose for the election of burgesses of Parliament Richard Wartenden, Nicholas Aldirman, William Style and Thomas Langton, who retired together into the chamber, who chose Andrew Swantton, William Kyrton, Ralph Bedyngham, John Springwell, T. Wursted, John Systeme, John Biekieres, and John Andrew, who appeared together and received their charge by the fealty which they made to the community that they would elect two sufficient burgesses to attend the Parliament, according to the tenor of the said brief, and they elected John Copnote and Thomas Burgh.

15.

[Attempt to control a borough election. For a similar attempt in a shire election see "Paston Letters," in. 34, no. 228. From the Records of the Corporation of Great Grimsby. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Rep. xiv. pt. 8, App. 250.]

To my right trusty and welbeloved the Mayor and Bailiffs of Grymesby be this delivered.

Right trusty and welbeloved, I grete you wel. And forasmuch as it is supposed that there shall now hastily ben a Parlement, which if it so shall be I pray you right hertely, considered that my right trusty and welbeloved servaunt Rauff Chaundeler¹ is like newly to ben maund² in yo^r town

¹ Rauff Chaundeler was M.P. for Grimsby, 1452. The letter is undated.

² sent for.

a^t Grymesby, wherfor of reson he shuld rather shewe his diligence in suche as shall be thought spedefull for the wele of yo^r said town thanne sum other straung persode, yt may like you for my sake in yo^r eleccion for yo^r Burgeises of yo^r said town to graunte yo^r good will and voys to my said servaunt to th'extent that he myght be oon of yo^r Burgeises to apere for yo^r said town in the said Parlement. And such as I may do for you I shall at alle tymes the rather perfourme to my power, as knoweth God, which have you ever in keping. Writen at Eppeworth, the xv day of Decembre,

JOHN VISCOUNT BEAUMONT.

16.

[Disputed elections. (a) 1404. Rot. Parl., iii. 530. (Fr.).]

Since the said Commons have heard that the writ of Summons to Parliament returned by the sheriff of Rutland was not properly and duly returned, therefore the same Commons beseech our Lord the King and the Lords in Parliament that this matter may be duly examined in Parliament, and in the event of a faulty return being proved, that such a penalty may be imposed, as shall be a warning to others not to offend in a similar manner. Wherefore, our said lord the King in full Parliament, commanded the Lords of Parliament to examine the said matter, and to do as it seemed best to them. Therefore the Lords aforesaid summoned before them in Parliament both the said sheriff and also William Ondeby returned by the said sheriff as one of the knights for the county, and Thomas Thorp, who was chosen in "pleno comitatu" to be one of the knights of the same county, and was not returned by the said sheriff. And when the parties had been duly examined, and their evidence taken in the said Parliament, it was decreed by the Lords, that since the said sheriff had not made a due return to the said writ, he should amend the return, and should return the said Thomas for one of the said knights, since he was chosen in full county for the Parliament. And further, that the said

sheriff should be dismissed from his office, and committed to the prison of the Fleet, and that he should pay a fine and a ransom according to the King's pleasure.

[(b) Declaration annexed to the return to the writ for election of two knights of the shire by the sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, 29 Hen. VI. R. Stonham and J. Styvecley (Stinecle) were returned. Pryune, "*Brevia Parliamentaria Rediviva*," pt. ii. 156.]

To the King our Gracious and Sovereign Lord. . . . At Huntington the Saturday next before Saint Luke's day the Evangelist now last pasted, the under-sheriff of your said shire of Huntington, there in the pleyn shire did your said writ of elections to be proclaimed for the two knights of the said shire . . . and wee Nicholes Stinecle, knight, Robert Stoneham, John Stinecle (here follow the names of 121 other freeholders) freeholders and dwelling within the same shire of Huntington, having freehold to the value clearly, above all charges yearly 40s., with a three hundred more good Comoners of the said shire . . . considering the great needfull ayde that is behoofull for your most royall estate, and concerning the safeguard of your most gracious persone, indending the judicial pease of yowe our erthly soveraigne lord, of this your noble realme, concerning these premisses, that your men of your honourable household, named in your checker-Roll, should be most like the expedition, and to execute and assent to the said aydes for yowe our Soveraigne Lord, your realme, and us your trew suggets and ligemen; and that upon the said considerations, wee named and chosen for knights at this time Robert Stoneham and John Stynecle Esq., of your said honourable household; notwithstanding these premisses, there appeared be labour of diverse gentlemen of other shires, and of your said shire of Huntington, the nombre of a lxx freeholders, comoners, naming Henry Gimber to be one of the said knights, which is not of Gentile birth, according to your said writ, and thereupon the Under-Sheriff went to examination according to the statutes rehersed in your said writ, and have xlvii examined of forreiners and receants,

without interruption of us, and few of them contributors to the knight's expenses. And whenne wee the Freeholders before named should be examined in like wise, tho on the said Henry Gimburs part would not suffer us of our part to be examined, and to give voys, thoue we might clearly yarely expend xx mark, without that we should have offended the peace of yowe our most doutye Sovereigne Lord, and soo wee departed for dread of the said inconveniences that was likely to be done of manslaughter. And what that the sheriff will retain in this behalf wee can have no notice; For which cause wee your true humble suggets and leigmen . . . beseeching youe our most douty Sovereigne Lord and King . . . that the said Sheriff may be by your great Highnesse strenghtly charged to return the said Robert Stoneham and John Stynecke . . . and that was and is our will and deed wee the said freeholders to the nombre of Cxxiiij have put to our seales severally and as appear it, and as your law will to do, and abide thereby to our lives end.

17.

[Colchester exempted from sending burgesses to Parliament. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. IV, ii. 355, dated March 13, 1404.]

Grant for six years to the burgesses of Colcestre, in aid of their great cost and expenses in the enclosure of the town with a wall of stone and lime for the resistance of the King's enemies, that they shall be exempted from sending any of their fellow-burgesses to any Parliaments, provided that they keep and support all statutes and ordinances and charges made and granted in the said Parliaments.

18.

[Parliamentary Privileges. (i) Freedom of speech: (a) The petition of Thomas Haxey, 1399. The Speaker demanded at the beginning of each Parliament the privilege of freedom of speech for himself only. Haxey was not a member of Parliament. Rot. Parl., iii. 430. (Fr.)]

Be it remembered that Thomas Haxey, clerk, presented a petition to our Lord the King in Parliament, in the following

words : To our Lord the King and the Lords of Parliament, Sheweth your poor clerk, Thomas Haxey, that whereas the said Thomas, presented a petition, in the Parliament held at Westminster on the feast of St. Vincent in the twentieth year of King Richard II, to the Commons of the said Parliament, for the honour and welfare of the said King, and for the whole realm and for this petition the said Thomas was found guilty of treason, according to the will of the said King. . . .

This petition with the records of it and the proceedings taken thereon, having been read aloud, the same our Lord the King ordained and adjudged that the sentence passed on the said Thomas in the Parliament held at Westminster in the twentieth year aforesaid of the late King Richard . . . should be entirely removed, reversed, repealed, and annulled, and held to be of no force nor effect.

[*(b)* The petition of Thomas Yonge, member for Bristol, that the Duke of York be recognised as heir to the throne, 1451. The petition does not appear in the Roll. William of Worcester, "*Annals*," R.S., [770]. (*Lat*)]

In the same Parliament, Thomas Yonge, of Bristol, an apprentice in the law, proposed, that since the King had no offspring, it should be publicly announced who was the heir-apparent, for the safety of the kingdom. And he named the Duke of York. For this reason this same Thomas was afterwards committed to the Tower of London.

[1455. Rot. Parl., v. 337.]

To the right wise and discreet Comons in this present Parlement assembled : Bisechen humbly Thomas Yong. That whereas he late beyng oon of the knyghtes for the Shire and Toune of Bristowe, in dyvers Parlements holden afore this, demened him in his saiynge in the same, as well, faithfully, and with alle suche trewe diligent labour, as his symplenesse couthe or myght, for the wele of the Kyng oure Soverain Lorde, and this his noble Realme ; and notwithstanding that by the olde liberte and fredom of the Comyns of this Lande had, enjoyed, and prescribed, fro the tyme that no mynde is,

alle suche persones as for the tyme, been assembled in eny Parlement for the same Comyn, ought to have theire fredom to speke, and sey in the Hous of their assemble, as to theym is thought convenyent or reasonable, withoute eny maner chalange, charge, or punycion therefore to be leyde to theym in eny wyse. Neverthelesse, by untrewre sinistre reportes made to the Kinges Highnesse of your said Bisecher, for matiers by him shewed in the Hous accustomed for the Comyns in the said Parlementes, he was therefor taken, arrested, and rigorously in open wise led to the Toure of London, and there grevously in grete duresse long tyme imprisoned, ayenst the said fredom and liberte, and was there put in grete fere of ymportable punycion of his body and drede of losse of his lif, withoute eny enditement, presentement, appele due, originall accusation, or cause lafull, had or sued ayenst him . . . and to over grete excessyve losses and expenses of his goods, amountyng to the somme of M marks and much more. Please hit your grete wisdoms, . . . to pray the Kyng our Soverain Lorde that hit like his Highnesse of his most noble grace, to graunte and provide, by th'avice of the Lordes Spirituell and Temporell . . . that . . . your said bisecher have sufficient and resonable recompense, as good feith, trouth, and conscience requiren.

The Kynge wolle, that the Lordes of his Counseill do and provide in this partie for the seid Suppliant, as by their discrecions shal be thought convenyent and resonable.

19.

[(ii) Freedom from arrest for members of Parliament. (a) Stat. 11 Hen. VI, c. 2. S.R., ii. 286.]

If any assault or affray be made to any Lord spiritual or temporal, knight of the shire, citizen or burgess, come to the Parliament or to other council of the King by his commandment, and there being and attending at the Parliament or Council that then proclamation shall be made in the most open place of the town, by three several days, where the assault or affray shall be made, that the party that made

such affray or assault yield himself before the King in his Bench within a quarter of a year after the proclamation made, . . . and if he do not, that he be attainted of the said deed, and pay to the party grieved his double damages, . . . and if he come, and be found guilty . . . then he shall pay to the party so grieved his double damages.

[(b) Thomas Thorp's case, 1453. Rot. Parl., v. 239. (Fr.)]

On the 14th day of February, the Commons by certain of their number, requested the King . . . that Thomas Thorp, their Speaker, and Walter Rayle, members of the said Parliament, at that time in prison, might be delivered and set at liberty, that the business of Parliament might proceed. . . . (Eng.) The seid Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx, not entending to empeche or hurt the Libertees and Privelegges of theym that were comen for the Commune of this lande to this present Parlement, but egally after the cours of lawe will wey in that behalve, opened and declared to the Justices the premisses, and axed of theym whether the seid Thomas ought to be delivered from prison, by force and vertue of the Privelegge of Parlement or noo. To the which question, the chefe Justicez in the name of all the Justicez, after sadde communication and mature deliberation hadde amonge them, aunswered and said; that they ought not to aunswere to that question, for it hath not be used afore tyme, that the Justicez shuld in eny wyse determine the Privelegge of this high Court of Parlement; for it is so high and so mighty in his nature, that it may make lawe, and that that is lawe it may make noo lawe; and the determination and knowlegge of that Privelegge belongeth to the Lordes of the Parlement, and not to the Justices . . . and if any persone that is a membre of this high Court of Parlement be arested in suche cases as be not for treason or felony, or suerte of the peas, or for a condemnation hadde before the Parlement, it is used that all such persones shuld be releessed of such arrestes and make an Attourney, so that they may have theire fredom and libertee, frely to entende upon the Parlement. . . . After which

answers and declaration, it was thorowly agreed, assentid and concluded by the Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx, that the seid Thomas, accordyng to the lawe, shuld remayne still in prison for the causes abovesaid, the Privilege of Parle-ment, or that the same Thomas was Speker or the Parlement, notwithstandyng.

20.

[(iii) Freedom from arrest for member's servants. (a) Case of Richard Chedder, 1404. Stat. 5 Hen. IV, c. 6. S.R., ii. 144.]

Because that Richard Chedder, esquire, which was come to this Parliament with Thomas Broke, knight, one of the knights chosen to the same Parliament for the county of Somerset, and menial servant with the said Thomas, was horribly beaten, wounded, blemished, and maimed by one . . . John Savage; it is ordained and stablished . . . that proclamation be made where the same horrible Deed was done, that the said John appear and yield him in the King's Bench within a quarter of a year after the proclamation made, and if he do not, the same John shall be attainted of the seid deed, and pay to the party grieved his double damages. . . . Moreover it is recorded in the same Parliament, that likewise it be done in time to come in like case.

[(b) Case of William Lârke, a servant of William Milrede, member for London, 1429. Rot. Parl., iv. 357. (Fr.)]

The Commons request, that whereas one William Larke, a servant of William Milrede, coming to this your Court of Parliament, representing the city of London, was brought before the Piepowder Court of the Abbot of Westminster, by his officers on account of the plausible story and inventions of one Margerie Janyns, he being then in the service of William Milrede aforesaid, and was taken from there to your Court of King's Bench, and was by the Judges of your said Bench committed to your prison of the Fleet and has been detained there until this time . . . may it please your Royal Majesty, that considering that the said William Larke, at the time of his arrest, was in the service of the said William

Milrede, and that he supposed, that by privilege of your Court of Parliament, he would be protected against all manner of arrest, except for treason, felony, or surety of the peace, during the sitting of the said Court, to ordain by the authority of this same your Parliament, that the said William Larke may be released from the Fleet prison aforesaid . . . and to grant, that by the same authority, your liegemen, that is to say lords, knights of your counties, citizens and burgesses, coming to your Parliaments, their servants and household attendants, may be free from arrest and imprisonment, during the sitting of your Parliament, except for treason, felony, or surety of the peace, as is above said.

The King, by the advice of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and at the particular request of the Commons, being in this present Parliament, and also with the assent of the counsel for Margerie Janyns named in this petition, wills and grants, by the authority of the said Parliament, that William Larke, named in the said petition, may be now released from the prison of the Fleet. And as to the rest of the petition: "Le roi s'avisera".

[*(c)* Case of a servant of Lord Scales. Nicolas, "Proc.," vi. 103.]

Writ to the Keeper of the Privy Seal, 23 December, 1450. Right trusty and welbeloved. Forasmuche as we be accertained that a servaunt longing to oure right trusty and welbeloved the Lord Scales (called Hugh of Forde) during the tyme of this oure parlement was committed to the warde of oure Conestable and Mareschal of Englande. We therfore wolling the priveleges of oure parlementez to be observed and kepte, wol and charge you that under our prive seel being in your warde ye do make oure lettres directed to oure Conestable and Marschal abovseade charging and commaunding theym to late the servaunt abovesaide to go at large for the tyme that oure parlement shal endure, and thees oure lettres shal be your warraunt. Yeven under oure signet at oure palois of Westmynstr the xxij day of Decembre, the yere of oure reigne xxix.

B. THE COUNCIL AND HOUSEHOLD.

1.

[(i) Attempts of Parliament to control the Council. (a) Rules for the Council during the minority of Henry VI, 1422. Rot. Parl., iv. 176]

The which Lordis above said ben condescended to take it up on hem in the manere and fourme that sueth, First, for asmuche as execution of lawe and keypyng of Pees, stant miche in justice of pees, shirrefs, and eschetours, the profits of the Kyng and the revenuz of the roialme ben greetly encreseed or anientischid by coustumers, countroullours, poisours, sercheours, and all suche other officers. Therefore the same Lordes wol and desireth, that suche officers and all othre be maad by advys and denomination of the said Lordes, saved always and reserved to my Lordes of Bedford, and of Glouces, and that longeth unto hem by a special Act maad in Parlement; and to the Busschop of Winchestre that, that he hath graunted hym by oure Souverein Lord that last was, of whois soule God have mercy, and by auctorite of Parlement conformed.

ITEM, that all maner wardes, mariages, fermes, and other casueltees that longeth to the Coroune, whan thei falle, be leeten, sold and disposed by the said Lordis of the Counseill and that indifferently atte the derrest, with oute favour or eny maner parcialtee or fraude.

ITEM, that if eny thyng shold be enact doon by Counseill that six or foure at the lest, withoute officers of the said Counseill, be present; and in all grete maters that shall passe by Counseill, hat all be present, or ellys the more partye; and yf it be suche matere that the Kyng hath been accustomed to be conseilled of, that than the said Lordes procede not ther ynne withoute th' advise of my Lordys of Bed', or of Glouc'.

ITEM, for asmiche as the two Chaumberlains of th' Eschequer ben ordenned of old tyme to countrolle the receptes and the paiments in any maner wyse maad; The

Lordys desireth that the Tresourer of England beyng for the tyme, and either of the Chamburlaines, have a keye of that that shold come into the receit, and that they be sworne to fore my lorde of Gloucetre and all the Lordis of the Counseill, that for no frendship they schul make no man privee, but the Lords of the Counseill, what the Kyng hath withynne his Tresour.

ITEM, that the Clerc of the Counseill be charged and sworn to treuly enacte and write daylich the names of all the Lords that shul be present, fro tyme to tyme, to see what, howe, and by whom, eny thyng passeth.

[Additional rules, 1423. *Ibid.*, 201.]

Thise ben certain provisions for the good of the gouernance of thes land that the Lordes which ben of the K. Counsaill desireth :

Frost, that my Lord of Gloucestre ne noon other man of the Counsaill, in no suyte that shal be maad unto hem, shal no favour graunte, nethir in billes of right, ne of office, ne of benefice, that loongeth to the Counsaill, but oonly to ansuere that the bille shal be seen by all the Counsaill, and the partie suing to have ansuere.

ITEM, that all the billes that shul be putt unto the Counsaill, shuld be onys in the weke att the lest, that is to seie on the Wednesday, redd byfore ye Counsaill, and yere ansueres endoced by the same Counsaill. And on the Friday next folwyng, declared to the partie suing.

ITEM, that all the billes that comprehende materes terminable atte the commune lawe, that seemeth noght fenyd, be remitted there to be determined, but if so be that ye discrecion of the Counsaill feele so greet myght on that oo syde and unmyght oo that othir.

ITEM, if so be that eny matere suyd in the Counsaill falle in to diverse opinions that oo lesse, than the more partye of the Counsaill beyng present, in the tyme of discord, falle to that oo part, that it be nought enacted as assented. And the

Names of both parties enact be the Clerk of the Counsaill, wyth here assent or disassent.

ITEM, that in alle suytes that shuld be maad to the Counsaill in materes whois determinathion loongeth unto the Counsaill, but if it so be that they touche the weel of the K. oure sovereign Lord, or of his reaume, hastily to be sped, elles that they be nought enact doon by the Counsaill oo lesse than to the nombre of VI, or foure atte the lest of the Counsaill, ond the officers that ben present be of oon assent, and atte all tymes the names of th assenteurs to be wryten of that owen hand in the same bille.

ITEM, for as miche as it is to greet shame that in to straung Countrees oure sovereign Lord shal write his Letters by th' advyse of his Counsaill, for such materes and persones as the Counsaill writeth in his name and singuler person of the Counsaill to write the Contrarie; that it be ordenned, that no man of the Counsaill presume to do it, on peyne of shame and reproef.

ITEM, that the Clerc of the Counsaill be sworn, that every day that the Counsaill sitteth on any billes bitwyx partie and partie that he shall, as fer as he can, aspye which is the porest suyturs bille, and that first to be redd and answered and the king's sergeant to be sworne trewly and plainly, to yeve the poor man, that for suche is accept to the Counsaill, assistense and trewe Counsaill in his matere so to be suyed, wyth oute eny good takyng of hym, on peyne of discharge of ther offic'.

ITEM, for asmuch that it is likly that many materes shull be treted a fore the Counsaill, the which toucheth the King' prerogatif and freehold, o that o partie and othir of his sougits, o that othir in the whiche materes the Counsaill is not lerned to kepe the Kynges ryghts, an the parties both withoute th' advise of the Kynges Justic', which be lerned both in his prerogatifs, and in commune lawe. That in all suche materes his Juges be called therto, and their advise, with yair namys also, to be entred of record, what and howe thei determyne and advyse therinne.

[Additional rules, 1429. *Ibid.*, 343.]

V. ITEM, that every man of the seide Counseill, shal have full fredom to say what that hym thenketh, to all matiers that shal be demened, or treted in the seide Counseill; and no persone of the seide Counseill shal conceyve indignation displeasance ne wrath, azeins any other of the seide Counseill, for sayng his advys or entent, to any request or matier, that shal be spoken or purposed in th seide Counseill, whome that ever it touche: always due reverence kept to every astate and persone.

VI. ITEM, that for as muche as it hath often tymes be knowe that matiers swiche as hath be spoken and treted in the seide Counseill, have be publyshed and discovered; whiche thing hath caused persones of the seide Counseill, to ymagyn straungely one of another, and diverser persones of the seide Counseill to renne in maugre and indignation of pirsones oute of the Counseill and other grete inconveniencies. That therfore fro this tyme forward, no persone, of what degree or condition yat he be of, shal be suffred to abyde in the Counseill, whilin maters o ye seide Counseill be treted yerin, safe only yoo yat ben sworn unto ye Counseill; but if yai be specially called therto by auctorite of ye seide Counseill.

IX. ITEM, that the correction, punycisn, or remevyng, of any Counseller, or grete officer of the Kynges, shal procede of thassent and advys, of the more parte of alle thoo that beth' apoynted of the Kynges Counseill.

[(b) Petition of the Commons for the dismissal of Councillors, 1451.

Ibid., v. 216.]

Prayen, the Commons, for asmoche as the persones hereafter in this bille named, hath been of mysbehavyng aboute youre roiall persone, and in other places, by whos undue meanes your possessions have been gretely amenused,¹ youre lawes not executed, and the peas of this youre reaume not observed nother kept, . . . Please your Highnes, . . . to ordeigne by auctorite of this youre present Parlement (that

¹ diminished.

they) be voided and amoeved fro youre moost noble, presence persone and estate, terme of here lyfs.

[The King's answer.]

As toward the persones named in this petition, his Highnes is not sufficiently lerned of eny cause why they shuld be removed frome the presence of his Highnes; Nevertheles, his Highnes, of his owne mere movyng, and by noon other auctorite, is agreed, that except the persone of any Lord named in the seid petition, and except also certain persones which shall be right fewe in nombre, the which have be accustomed contynuelly to waite uppon his persone, and knowne howe and in what wite they shall mowe beste serve hym to his pleasure, his Highnes is agreed, that the remnaunte shall absente theym frome his high Presence, and from his Court, for the space of an hoole yere.

2.

[Relation between the Councillors in England and those with the King in France. Minutes of the Council, 16 April, 1430, Nicolas, "Proc.," iv. 38.]

It was appointed and concluded there that suche matiers as for the wele of the Kyng shul be passed in France by the consaillers of Englonde aboute the Kynges persone may be holden as passed and doon by oon accord and avis bothe here and there and in lyke wise to be understanden and holden of matiers to be passed by the consaillers here. . . .

Item, that whan it shal be wreten to court by the Kyng recomendyng eny of his subgittes to bisshopprickes or other benefices that furst avis be hadde and wist of bothe the consailles aswel there as here, or than eny lettre passe for eny manere persone either under the Kynges prive seal or his signet in eschewyng of variance in writyng and other inconvenientes that mowe ensue of the contrarie.

3.

[Distinction between members of the Great Council and Parliament and members of the Privy Council. From the protest of the Duke of Gloucester against the liberation of the Duke of Orleans, 1440. Gloucester protests against the acceptance of the Cardinalate by the Bishop of Winchester. King Henry IV, he says, would have had certain clerks made cardinals, who were not already bishops. Stevenson, "Letters and Papers," R.S., II, ii. 442.]

That, in general counsailes and in alle maters that might concerne the wele of hym and of his royaume, he shulde have promoters of his nacion, as alle other Cristen kynges had, in the courte of Rome, and not to abide in this lande as eny part of youre counsaile, as be alle other lords spirituall and temporell at the parlements and greet counsailes, whan youre liste is to calle hem. And therefore, thogh it like you to do hym that worship to sette hym in youre prive counsaile, where that you list, yeet in youre parlements, where every lord spirituall and temporel have thair place, hym aught to occupie his place but as bisshop.

4.

[Henry's assertion of the authority of letters under his signet. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, iv. 312-13, 7 November, 1444.]

Henry by the grace of God kyng of England and of Fraunce and lord of Irland to our chaunceller of England, gretynge. All such grauntes as that sith the xth yere of our regne unto this tyme ye by force and vertue of billes with our own hond and by lettres undre our signetes of the Egle and armes and also by billes endoced by our chaumberleyn handes and clerk of our counsaile, have made over lettres patentes under our grete seel, we hold theym firm and stable and of as grete strength and valewe and to yowe as sufficeant warrant as though ye had had for theyme our lettres of prive seel, any statut, charge, restraint, act or commaundement to yowe made in to the contrarie notwithstanding.

Yeven under our prive seel at our manoir within our park of Wyndesore the vij day of Novembre, the yere of our regne xxiiij.

5.

[Attendance and payment of Councillors. (a) P.R.O., Exchequer Accounts, K.R., Council, Bundle 96, no. 19.]

I Rauf Lord Cromwell declare to the Barons of the Kynges exchequer that I have actuely entendid to the kynges counseil that now is the Kyng Henry the sixt in his Realme of England fro the ix^e day of decembre the first yere of his Regne in the maner that folowyth that is to sey the first the ii^{de} the iij^{de} the iiij^{te} the vth the vj^{te} the vij^{te} the viij^{te} yere hole in to mighelmasse the ix^{te} yere and so forth in to Trinite terme next folowyng, in whiche terme I was absent fro the seid conseil be as many days as ther were days in noumbre in the same terme fulle in the whiche the kynges justices of his Benche and of his comune place sett in that is to sey be xxviiij days for I was sent fore be the kynges comaundement to come to hym in to his Royalme of Fraunce to attende and abide about his person and so I dyd, and so was I absent fro the seid conseil the michelmas terme and the hillary terme the x^{te} as many days as there were days in noumbre in eyther of those same termes fulle in the whuche the seid kynges justices sett in that is to say in the sayd michelmas terme be xxxvi days and in the hillary terme xxviii days and fro that hillary terme that is to sey the x yere of the regne of the kyng I actually entendid to the seid counseil continually terme be terme in to the xi day of August the xi yere of the regne of our soveraigne lord the kyng aforseid in whiche day it lyked hym to make me his Tresorer of Englund.

[Account for his actual attendance. *Ibid.* (Lat.).]

At the rate of £100 a year, from December 9th in the first year, being the first day on which the said Ralph attended the Council, until August 11th, in the 11th year, on which

day the said Lord Ralph was appointed Treasurer of England, that is for 10 years, two quarter years and 63 days, less £46 for the 92 days upon which the said Ralph did not actually attend the said Council, because the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas were sitting there, calculated at the rate of 10s. a day, that is, for the whole of the Trinity Term in the 9th year, 28 days, and the whole of the Michaelmas term in the 10th year, 36 days, and the Hilary Term in the same year, 28 days, making in all 92 days, as appears on the bill containing the particulars of this attendance, which was presented to the King's Exchequer by Lord Cromwell in his own person, and according to these particulars specified there remains to be paid £1021 5s. 2d. according to the King's writ of Privy Seal dated on the above said July 2nd in the 12th year directed to the Treasurer and Barons of this Exchequer and enrolled amongst the writs directed to the Treasurer and Barons in the term of the Holy Trinity in the thirteenth year, on the 9th roll by the King's Remembrancer.

[(b) Councillors exempted from attendance. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, iv. 85, dated 24 April, 1442.]

Exemption for life of William, Bishop of Lincoln, King's Councillor, from personal attendance in any Council or Parliament, on his showing that both in France and elsewhere he has spent a great part of his vital force in things not divine, that he cannot neglect the cure of souls without grave peril to his soul, and that he has rarely had leisure from such Councils and Parliaments.

[*Ibid.*, 158, dated 11 July, 1443.]

Grant to William, Bishop of Salisbury, that he be not compelled hereafter to attend any Council or Parliament of the King, nor be vexed by reason of his absence therefrom, provided that he be represented by his proctor.

6.

[Attempt of the Commons to exercise control over the Royal Household, 1404. (a) Rot. Parl., iii. 525. (Fr.).]

The said Commons requested our said Lord the King, that in the ordinance to be made for the Household of the same Lord the King, honest, good, and well-known persons might be named and appointed, and their names notified to the said Lords and Commons in this Parliament.

[(b) *Ibid.*, 528.]

On Saturday, the 1st day of March, in the presence of the King and the Lords of Parliament, the Archbishop of Canterbury, by command of the King, declared to them the King's will touching the manner of his rule, as the King himself had declared to them the Monday before. That is to say, . . . the King's will is that the laws must be kept and maintained; that justice shall be done to rich and poor alike, and not in any manner delayed by Letters of Secret Seal, or of Privy Seal, or by any other form of command or entresign.¹ And further, our Lord the King, willing that there shall be good governance of his Household, prayed the said Lords that they would labour to appoint good and able officers, of a suitable number, so that the people might be paid for their provisions and for the expenses of the Household aforesaid and he would be content if a single sum were assigned for the Chamber and the Wardrobe, provided it be sufficient to pay the debts that are owing. And it is further the will of our Lord the King that the grant to be made by the Lords and Commons now in this present Parliament, for the wars and defence of the Realm, be put into the hands of certain Treasurers, by the advice of the said Lords and Commons, that it may be spent only on the wars, and on nothing else.

[(c) 1442. *Ibid.*, v. 63.]

Prayen the Communes. . . . It please your noble grace . . . to ordeign and assigne by the auctorite of this your seid

¹ "Entresigne" = sign or mark. See N.E.D.

present Parlement, such and as meny of your Lordes, as, it pleaseth your Highnesse, to have suffisaunt power and aucto-rite to se, establish, apoynte and ordeign, that good and sadde rule be hadde in and of your seid Houshold, and that redy paiement in hand be hadde for the dispenes of the same Household. . . .

Be it as it is desired.

7.

[Difficulty in obtaining payment for goods supplied to the Household, 1415. Rot. Parl., iv. 75. (Fr.). See also *ibid.*, 76.]

To the most wise Commons of this Parliament, beseecheth meekly John Shadworth, citizen and mercer of London, that whereas there is due to him the sum of £53 6s. 8d. by the very noble King, on whose soul God have mercy, the father of our sovereign Lord the King that now is, for divers spices bought by him and given to Roger Wodhill, then clerk of the spicery . . . and in payment of this sum certain tallies were given to the said suppliant, the sum to be paid at Westminster at the receipt of the late King, from certain customs officials of the same King, as it appears more clearly on the said tallies. And now it has happened that the customs received by the said officials do not amount to or reach the sums for which the said tallies are made out, and also these officials have been discharged from office. Your said suppliant therefore, for the reasons above said cannot receive his payment by means of the tallies aforesaid.

8.

[The Wardrobe, (a) The Great Wardrobe. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, v. 50, dated 4 March, 1447]

Grant to Thomas Tudenham, knight, keeper of the great wardrobe, which office was granted to him of late by letters patent of free disposition and such liberty in the wardrobe, that the treasurer of England or other lord, estate, or person shall not be entertained there nor have any interest therein dur-

ing his term of office, except those who are there at the King's fee and are bound by letters patent and ought to attend daily on the said office, and that no mayor, alderman, sheriff, constable, herald or other person, enter the said place, its dwellings, rents, or tenements to make any arrest or execution, unless the keeper, his deputy, or the collector of the said rent be then present; because the keeper accounts yearly touching the wardrobe with all its dwellings and tenements, receipts, repairs and other necessary costs, with the wages of all workmen there; and the tailors and skinners have been hindered by such as have been entertained there, because the doors have often been closed, and they could not come to their works.

[(b) The Privy Wardrobe. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. IV, ii. 510, dated 15 February, 1405.]

Appointment of the King's servant Henry Somer, keeper of the King's privy wardrobe within the Tower of London, to take armourers, fletchers, smiths and other artificers and workmen for the works of armour, bows, arrows, and arrow-heads and other works touching his office and put them to work in the Tower and elsewhere, and to take timber and wood for cannons and carriage for the same.

C. THE ROYAL REVENUE.

1.

[The normal methods of taxation were by (a) tenths and fifteenths, (b) customs on wool, (c) tunnage and poundage. Grant of customs on wool and leather, and tunnage and poundage to Henry V for life after Agincourt, November, 1415. For a grant of tenths and fifteenths, see above, p. 32. Rot. Parl., iv. 63. (Fr.).]

Since the King our sovereign Lord . . . has not sufficient means wherewith to take action in order to claim what is his by right . . . to the honour and worship of God, and for the great and whole-hearted affection which the Commons of the realm of England bear towards our Lord the King, with the

assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, assembled in Parliament, held at Westminster on the Monday next after the feast of All Saints', the third year of the reign of our sovereign Lord the King aforesaid, is granted to the same sovereign Lord the King, on the twelfth day of November, in the same parliament, for the defence of the realm, the subsidy of wool, leather, and wool-fells, to be levied from the merchants denizen at the rate of 43s. 4d. the sack of wool, 43s. 4d. for every 240 wool-fells, and 100s. for every last of leather, and from the merchants alien for every sack of wool 60s., every 240 wool-fells 60s. and every last of leather 106s. 8d. to be levied and received . . . throughout the life of our said sovereign Lord the King. . . .

The said Commons grant . . . 3 shillings from each tun of wine, both imported and exported . . . and 12d. for every pound of merchandise imported and exported, excepting wools, leather, and wool-fells, and wine and all kinds of corn and fish and cattle imported, and ale and victuals exported to Calais and Harfleur and their marches . . . throughout the life of our Lord the King aforesaid.

2.

[Extraordinary methods of taxation (a) Tax on land and moveables, 1427. Rot. Parl., iv. 318.]

Ye saide Commens graunten to oure saide soverain Lord, for ye said defense, yat alle inhabitantz, housholders withynne every Parische of this saide Royaume, so yat yer be inhabited in ye saide Parische x persones there holdynge housholde, alway Citees and Burghes excepte, of wiche Parisches the Chirches be not extented,¹ or singularly both afore yis tyme extented withynne the annuell value of x Marc'; paie to oure saide souveraine Lord, al onely vi.s. viii.d. of her godes moebles. And over that alle inhabitantz, housholders in every Parische withynne the saide Royaume, excepte ye saide Citees and Bourghes, of ye wiche Parisches ye Chirches both Singularly

¹ assessed.

afore this tyme extended to ye value of x marc, beyng x inhabitantz, housholders in tham; paie to oure saide souverain Lord xiii.s. iiiii.d. of her godes moebles; and so in to ye hiest extente afore yis tyme made, aftre ye rate. And yat ye inhabitantz, housholders of every Parische, withynne citees and Bourghs of this saide Royaume, in like wise and forme inhabite beyng ye Chirche ther of annuell value of xxs. pay to oure saide souveraine Lord ii.s. And so above, aftre ye rate, to ye hiest value of Parische Chirches, be due inquerrez yerof to be hade. Salvyng alwaies in suche inquerrez to ye saide Citees and Burghes her Fraunchises and Libertees. And also ye saide Commens graunten to oure saide souveraine Lord, for ye defense aforsaide, that every persone withynne ye saide Royaume, Beynge seysed of Londes and Tenementz withynne ye same Royaume, in his demesne as of freehold; which Londes and Tenementz ye saide persone possessour or persones possessours holdeth immediatly be a hool Knyghtes Fee, paie to oure saide souveraine Lord vis. viiiid. and so aftre ye Rate, to ye fourth part of a Knyghtes Fee, as temporell possessions dymeable, and ye possessioners of ham for the same possessions, except ye saide subsides of inhabitantz housholders, withynne ye saide parishes, to be paid in ye fest of Pentecost next commyng; and ye subsides of ye saide Knyghtes Fees with ye rate yrof, at ye fest of ye nativite of Saint John Baptist next Commyng.

[(b) Tax on land, 1430. *Ibid.*, 369. (Fr.).]

The said commons grant, by the authority aforesaid, that every lay man and lay woman, seised, on their demesne as of freehold, of manors, lands or tenements within the realm, by military service, shall pay to you, our lord the king, for the purposes of defence afore said, according to the value of their lands; that is to say, for every whole knight's fee, xxs. And that all men and women of the spiritual estate, holding manors, lands or tenements, acquired since the 20th year of the reign of King Edward 1st after the Conquest, shall pay to you our said lord the King, for the purposes of defence

aforesaid, according to the value of their lands, that is to say, for every whole knight's fee, xxs. And that all men and women, whether lay or spiritual seised of any manors, lands, or tenements, as of freehold on their demesne, the service due from which is not equal to a whole knight's fee, shall pay to you . . . according to the scale, . . . and that all lay men and women seised on their demesne by free tenure, of any manors, lands, or tenements, held on terms other than that of military service, or seised of any dry rents,¹ or rent charges² to the net annual value of £xx beyond the reasonable and necessary rebatements, shall pay to you . . . xxs.

The same for the land of ecclesiastics, down to £5 annual value, according to the scale.

[The tax was repealed in 1432. *Ibid.*, 409.]

[(c) Taxation by the Council. Nicolas, "Proc.," i. 104, 9 February, 1400. (Fr.)]

Whereupon the lords spiritual and temporal aforesaid, considering the very great need, and in order to avoid the summoning of Parliament, and the consequent imposition of a tax or tallage upon the common people or any other burden, the said Lords spiritual and temporal agreed to grant an aid to our said Lord the King in the following manner. That is to say that each of the lords spiritual named below shall grant a tenth.

(The grants from the Lords temporal varied, see *ibid.*, pp. 105-6.)

[(d) Tax on alien householders, 1430. Rot Parl., v. 6.]

We youre pouere Communes, . . . by thassent of alle the Lordes spirituell and temporell . . . graunte to you oure Sovereine Lorde, for the keypyng and defence of the See,

¹Rents derived from the letting of land on lease, where no clause of distress is inserted in the agreement if the money is not paid yearly according to the agreement.

²Rents derived from similar letting of land, where a clause of distress is inserted in the agreement.

a certeyne Subsidie, . . . That is to sey, that every persone housholder not English borne, dwellynge withynne this your said realme, men and women borne in Wales, and other made denizeins except, paie to yowe yerely xvid. And every other persone non housholder, and noght borne in Englonde, except afore except, paie to yowe yerely vid.

[(e) Tax on alien merchants and chantry priests. *Ibid.*, 144.]

Every Venecian, Italian, Januey, Florentyn, Milener, Lucan, Cateloner, Albertyns, Lumbard, Hansers, Pruciers, beyng Merchants or Factours, and all other Merchants straungiers, borne oute of youre said Lordshippes, Duchies and Isles, and dwellyng within this youre Royalme, or shall dwell duryng the said graunte, paye to you oure Sovereaigne Lord a Subsidie, that is to say, everych of theym vis. viiid.; and their Clerkes, everych of theym xxd. : Moreover we youre pouer Commens graunten to you . . . a Subsidie to be take and rereyd¹ of all manere Prests seculars, Stipendaries and Chaunterie Prestes, within this y ure Roialme; that is to say, of every Prest vis. viiid.

3.

[An additional 6d. had been imposed on alien merchants as poundage. Owing to the opposition it aroused, it was repealed, 1432. Rot. Parl., iv. 390. (Lat.).]

For certain notable causes, which have more particularly determined the Lord the King aforesaid and his Council, with the advice and assent of the said Lords spiritual and temporal, now in this same Parliament, it is ordained and agreed, that all and every merchant alien now in the said realm of England, or who shall come to the same realm within the limits of the appointed time, shall be relieved and released from the necessity of paying the said 6d. which was imposed upon the said merchants by the terms of the grant aforesaid, to be paid by them as a subsidy over and above the said 12d. on all goods to the value of 20s.

¹ levied.

4.

[Appropriation of grants, 1404. Rot. Parl., iii. 546. (Fr.).]

The grant is made on condition that the two fifteenths and two tenths aforesaid, and the subsidies on wool, leather, and wool-fells, and the 8s. on the tun, and xiid. on the pound, shall be entirely expended for the defence of the realm, according to the form and intention of this grant, in the manner aforesaid, and for no other purpose; and Thomas, Lord Furnivall, and John Pelham, Knight, assigned and appointed as treasurers of war in this present Parliament, to receive the said fifteenths, tenths, and subsidies, shall answer for and give account of them to the Commons of the realm at the next Parliament . . . and the Lords temporal for themselves and ladies temporal, and all other persons temporal, for the defence aforesaid, grant xxs. from for every £xx of land or of rents in their hands, to the value of five hundred marks a year and over, to be levied at the feasts of Christmas and St. John the Baptist next coming.

5.

[Protestation by the Commons because the Lords have decided on the amount of taxation necessary without consultation with them, 1407. Rot. Parl., iii. 611. (Fr.).]

On Monday, the 21st day of November, the King our sovereign Lord, sitting in the Council chamber in the Abbey of Gloucester, the Lords spiritual and temporal, summoned to this present Parliament, being present, they discussed amongst one another the condition of the realm, and the means necessary for its defence against the malice of its enemies . . . proclaiming the necessity, for its safety and defence, of granting to the King a large aid and subsidy in this present Parliament. The said Lords were then asked the question, what aid would suffice and be required for this purpose? To this demand and question, the Lords answered severally, that considering the necessities of the King on the one hand, and the poverty of the people on the other, the least

and that would suffice, would be one and a half tenths from the cities and boroughs, and one and a half fifteenths from other lay people, and in addition the subsidy on wools, leather, and wool-fells, and the subsidy of tunnage and poundage should be prolonged from the feast of St. Michael next coming for two years. After this, the Commons were bidden, by command of the King, to send a certain number of themselves before the King our sovereign Lord and the said Lords, to hear and report to their fellows what the King our sovereign aforesaid should say to them. Wherefore the said Commons sent into the presence of the King our sovereign Lord aforesaid and the said Lords, twelve of their number, to whom was reported, by command of the King the question aforesaid and the answer given severally by the Lords aforesaid to it. The King's will was, that they should report to the remainder of their fellows this answer, and that they should give their consent to it with as much haste as possible. When this was reported to the said Commons, they were much disturbed, saying and affirming that it was to great prejudice and derogation of their liberties. When our sovereign Lord the King heard that, not wishing that anything should be done either at present or at any future time, which might be against the liberty of the estate, on whose behalf they had come to Parliament, nor against the liberties of the Lords aforesaid, granted and declared with the advice and assent of these same Lords, as here follows. That is to say, the Lords may discuss amongst themselves, both in this present Parliament and in those to be held in the future, in the absence of the King, the condition of the realm, and what is needful for its betterment. And in the same way, the Commons may discuss together the same matters. Provided always, that neither the Lords on the one hand, nor the Commons on the other, make any report to our said Lord the King, concerning any grant made by the Commons, and assented to by the Lords, until the Lords and Commons have agreed together and are of one mind concerning such grant, and then it shall be reported in the accustomed manner and form, that is to say, by the mouth

of the Speaker of the Commons for the time being, so that both Lords and Commons may have the thanks of our said Lord the King. Our said Lord the King wills also with the assent of the Lords aforesaid, that the proceedings in this Parliament above set forth shall not be cited as a precedent at any future time, nor be turned to the prejudice and derogation of the liberty of the estate, on whose behalf the Commons have come to this present Parliament, or shall come in the future. But he wills that he himself and all other estates shall be as free as they were before.

6.

[Petition of Ralph Cromwell, Treasurer, relating to the finances of the country, 1433. Rot. Parl., iv. 438]

To the King oure souveraine Lord, with all humblesse, shewe I your most humble and trewe sugett Rauf Crowell; . . . howe sore ye wer charged and indetted unto youre peple what tyme I toke mye charge, howe grete youre yeerly charge was, howe small the Revenuz of youre Lond were, so that by no possibilittee they myght bere your yeerly Charge by grete Sommes, but that yhe yeerly moste renne in much gretter dette yan yhe nowe stande in oo lesse than other purveance were made, that youre revenuz were made gretter or elles youre charge made smaller.

[Answer to the petition. *Ibid.*, 439.]

The Kyng will, that for divers causes moeved and declared in this petition, his uncles of Bed' and Glouc', the Cardinall and other Lordes of his counseill, assigne and appointe a tyme to attende and see the Bokes of the Kyngis Revenuz, yeerly charges and dettes, lyke as it is desired; and ther uppon to appoynte howe and in what fore his yeerly Charges shall be borne and his dettes paid.

7.

[Loans. (a) Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, ii. 49-50, dated 6 March, 1430. See above, pp. 33, 35.]

Commission by advice of the Council to Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury, the prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, John Darell, Geoffrey Louthur, and the Sheriff of Kent, to convoke the parsons, knights, esquires and other notable persons of the county, and also the bailiffs, good men and commonalties of the city of Canterbury and of the boroughs in the said county, and to move and persuade them to lend to the King a notable sum of money for the voyage which he proposes to make in person in April to his realm of France, to make a speedy end of his wars there. The commissioners are to give surety for repayment out of the fifteenth payable on the octaves of Martinmas by grant of the commonalty of England in the last Parliament.

[(b) Letter from the King to the community of Beverley, 28 May, 1435. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Report on the MSS. of the Corporation of Beverley, 22. From the Town Chantry.]

Trusty and wele beloved, inasmuch as we now late instantly required as well by solemn ambassiates as by letters of our Holy Father the Pope, the General Council, our Brother the Emperor, our Uncle of Burgundy, and many other, to entend unto the means of peace to be treated betwixt us and our adversary in our realm of France, condescended to send our solemn ambassiate of the Lords of our blood and other in great number to meet with the ambassadors of our said adversary at Arras, 1st April next coming, for which cause of necessity we must send also at the said time into our said realm of France a great army to hold the field. . . . We desire and pray you that . . . ye would at this time loan unto us the sum of 200 marks, for the which our Treasurer of England shall make unto you by authority of Parliament . . . surety for your repayment . . . the which sum we pray you to be delivered unto our said Treasurer at London at the

octave of Trinity next coming at the farthest. . . . Given under our Privy Seal at Westminster the 28th day of May.

[The Governors and Wardens of Beverley say that they cannot comply with the King's wish owing to the poverty of the town through bad trade, heavy taxation, and the probable opening of hostilities with Scotland, and ask the Provost to notify the King. The Provost replies as follows, asking to be excused from the task.]

For truly as I stand toward the king, as ye know, and also that other men of like condition as ye be of, strangeth them nought in this case, but makes chevance¹ under surety sufficient. . . . And therefore withouten ye be disposed to do like other of your degree, desire me not to entreat in that matter, as wele for your worship as for mine. For truly I wot well it would not be accepted of your part, and I might be held []² therewith, the which I trust ye would not in no wise. Wherefore I counsel you ye []² like other men of your degrees to do somewhat to the King's pleasure, and send it hither by []² man in haste, and I will help you to bring it to as little sum as I may with all my heart. . . . Written in haste at London, the 8 day of July. By Robert Rolleston, Wardrober and Provost.

[(c) The King demanded a loan of £100 from the city; by the intercession of Cardinal Beaufort this demand was first reduced to 100 marks and then remitted altogether; hence the following items. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Rep. ix., pt. 1, App. 139. From Records of the City of Canterbury: City accounts (Lat).]

For two dozen capons given to the Lord Henry of Winchester, Bishop and Cardinal, who came to Canterbury with other lords and nobles of the realm, on his way to Arras in France, to seek a means of promoting perpetual peace between England and France, with the help of God on account of his successful mediation in the aforesaid manner, on behalf of the aforesaid citizens. And for vi. brace of pheasants given to the said Cardinal, for the same reason, at the same time.

¹ loan.

² Sic.

And for ii. "Troughtes" given to the said Cardinal on his journey. And for barley bought for the capons aforesaid and for looking after the pheasants.

8.

[Resistance to taxation. (a) Opposition to collection of the fifteenth. P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 5, No. 105, probably 1417 (Fr.).]

To their full gracious Lord, the bishop of Durham, Chancellor of England.

Beseecheth meekly your poor orators, Robert Dryver, and Simond Tounesend, constables of Ware and Bonjoie, tenants of Thomas, Earl of Salisbury, that forasmuch as a fifteenth was granted to our sovereign lord the King by the Lords of the last Parliament, and your said suppliants were appointed by commission as collectors of the same fifteenth, they were molested and threatened in life and limb from day to day by John Bedford the elder, and Thomas Bedford, the younger, because they wished to collect the subsidy aforesaid, to the great loss of the said sovereign Lord the King, and to the harm of your said suppliants, unless they may have your full gracious aid and succour in this matter. May it please your full gracious lordship graciously to consider the great wrong done to our said sovereign Lord the King and to the said suppliants, and to grant them writs of *sub poena* of a hundred pounds to both the said John and Thomas Bedford, directing them to be before you in the Chancery on 29 December (?) next coming, there to be examined on the matter aforesaid, for the love of God, and in the way of charity.

[(b) Opposition to the raising of a loan in London. Answer of the Mayor to a royal writ demanding the cause of imprisonment. Plea and Memoranda Rolls, A. 48, m. 4b, 8 Hen. V. (Lat.).]

We, Richard Whytynghon, Mayor, Robert Whytyngham and John Botiller, sheriffs of the city of London, certify you that whereas a loan of two thousand marks was recently granted by the community of the said city for the expenses of the campaign of our Lord the King, whom God prosper,

it was decreed by the Mayor and Aldermen of the said city to ensure its more speedy and peaceful raising that each Alderman, together with the Constables and certain collectors specially chosen for this purpose, should go from day to day to every person assessed in their wards, to ask for and raise the sum for which they were assessed and taxed. Accordingly on the twenty-ninth day of April last past, as Robert Widyngton, Alderman of the Ward of Bredstret, under the terms of the said ordinance, came to Henry Berenge, Roger Holbeche, Peter Aleyn, Nicholas Stanour, barber, Thomas Edward and James Bromley, in his ward aforesaid, and demanded of them divers sums of money at which they had been assessed and taxed by and amongst their neighbours of the ward aforesaid for the aforesaid loan, these same Henry, Roger, Peter, Nicholas, Thomas, and James together with other evil-doers and disturbers of the King's peace, at the head of a large number there gathered together, to prevent the collecting of the said grant and loan by the same Robert Widyngton, opposed him with violence and threats, saying that none of them would pay a penny towards the loan and grant aforesaid. Whereat there was much disturbance among the people, and immediately we heard of it, we took with us the Aldermen and other tried men of the said city and went to the ward afore said, . . . and we arrested the aforesaid Henry, Roger, Peter, Nicholas, Thomas, and James, . . . and committed them to prison, there to remain without being released, until the two thousand marks . . . shall have been fully raised.

9.

[Coinage duties formed part of the Crown revenues from the Stannaries. The receiver was a coinage official nominated by the Crown. Cf. G. R. Lewis, "The Stannaries," "Harvard Economic Studies," III. Receipt of his tithe by the Bishop of Exeter. "Reg. of Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter, 1395-1419," ed. F. O. Hingeston-Randolph, 348. (Lat.)]

Let all know by these presents that we, Edmund, by the divine mercy Bishop of Exeter, have received from John

de Waterton, the Receiver of the revenue of our Lord the Prince in the County of Cornwall, and Devon, sixteen pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence sterling, as a tenth of the Coinage duties of the Stannaries, in the counties aforesaid, due to us and our church at the feast of St. Michael last before this present date, for the year just past. . . .

Clyst, Nov. 23, the 12th year of the reign of King Henry the Fourth after the Conquest.

D. ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

1.

[(a) Jurisdiction of Parliament. Act of Attainder against John Mortimer. Rot. Parl., iv. 202. (Lat.) See also *Ibid.*, 107-8.]

On the 26th day of February in this present Parliament . . . there was read the indictment aforesaid to the same John Mortimer, in the presence of the Duke and other Lords temporal and the whole Commonalty of the said Parliament. When the whole Commonalty had heard it in full, they agreed it was a true and just indictment, in its force, form and effect, and the Commonalty asked the Duke and other Lords temporal to pronounce their affirmation of its truth and justice, and to pass sentence upon the said John Mortimer for the treasons and felonies of which he was convicted. Whereupon the Duke and other Lords temporal aforesaid assented to the request of the said Commonalty in all things, and declared the indictment to be true and just in all things according to its force, form and effect. And thereupon, the Duke aforesaid, having examined and fully understood the tenor of the said indictment, by the advice of the Lords temporal and at the request of the whole commonalty, in the present Parliament assembled, by the authority of the same Parliament ordained and enacted that the indictment aforesaid was true and just in all things according to its force, form and effect.

[(b) Petition in 1414 of Thomas Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, complaining of certain errors in the trial of his father, John Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, 1 Hen. IV. *Ibid.*, 18. (Fr.).]

That the said declaration and judgment were not pronounced by the King, but only by the Lords temporal and by the assent of the King; and this sentence ought to have been passed by our Lord the King who is the sovereign judge in all cases, and by the Lords spiritual and temporal, with the assent of the Commons of the Land, or on their petition, and not by the Lords temporal only.

2.

[Appeals to the Chancellor. (a) To enforce the decisions of the Courts Christian. Calendars of the Proceedings in Chancery in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, I, xvi.]

To our liege the King.

Bysechith mekely youre pour prest Roger Wodehill parson of Strete som tyme clerke of youre faders Spicerie, whos soule God assoille, that for as moche as the abbot and the convent of Glastonbury ymagineth a foe yenst the forseid parson and wrongfully feyneth ayenst him and his men actions of trespas that be untrew in youre courtys, and prisonyth his men at Glastonbury, and ledyth a wey from his parsonage his plogh yren and his plogh and his plogh gere, that his men mowe not sowe his lande, and othir wrongys doth to him and to his men, that he dar not duelle upon his parsonage for to serve God, nether his men to do him eny servise there, in destruction of the forseid parson, his men and his chirche, but yif they have youre gracieus help; and all this wronges they do, because that the parson sewith ayenst him in court spirituall for dismes of his chirche that they have wrongfully by nome¹ the forseid parson and his chirche; notwithstanding that the forseide parson hath had a sentence for him in the court of Caunterbury by mestre John Kemp,

¹ by nome = to take away from.

and an othir sentence in the court of Rome by the Popi's Auditors. That it like to your graciouse astate considere the grete power and rychesse of the forsaide Abbot and the Convent, and the mene power of the said parson; and comand to write to youre Chanceler of Yngelond to do clepe the parties a for him and examine hem and make an ende by twene hem of all that hangith bitwene hem in youre Courtys, and so that the forseid parson have right for the mercy of Crist.

[The petition was sent by the King to the Chancellor, the Bishop of Durham, together with a covering letter, dated at Vernon, 28 April, 1419. Extract from the King's letter.]

We wol, that the forsaide supplicacion, wel understanden and considered by yow, ye doo calle before yow bothe parties specified in the same supplicacion, and, thaire causes herd, that ye doo unto hem both right and equite, and in especial that ye see that the porer partye suffre no wrong, but that ye make suche an ende in this matiere y^t we be no more vexed hereafter with thaire complaints.

[(b) For redress against imprisonment by the bailiff of Yarmouth P.R.O., Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 19, No. 486, (28-31 Hen. VI).]

To the moost reverent fader in God right worshipfull and speciall good lord the Cardinall of York primat and chauncellor of England.

Besecheth mekely youre contynual oratour Thomas Neve Gentilman that where he late beyng in a ship on the see sayling toward Dertmouth in marchaundising, ther was a Balingar of the Lord Scales and other shippes hayled a ship of Scotland and founde in hir a frenssh gentilwoman whom they toke and departed hir goodes amonges them and wolde have cast hir ovyr the ship borde into the see but as she prayed that yf ther were ony gentilman amonges them that she myght be put into his governaunce to save hir undesouled wherupon youre besecher was sent fore to come thider

fro a place in the see where he abode for wynde and at his comyng thider he hering of the gentilwoman that she was longing to the duchee of Bourgoyn wold not have had to done with her but as she prayed hym at the reverence of God to have her in governaunce and save her undesoyled and to bye certeyn of hir goodes that were there taken fro hir and promysed hym truly to be payed thereof ageyn and so he bought of hir goodes to hir use as moche as cost hym xli. and had hir with hir said good for hir worship and saufte unto lande unto Yermouth and also a frere of the Chartrehaus confessor to the duches of Burgoyne whom the said shipmen wolde also have cast ovyr the borde into the see and at the comyng of youre besecher unto Yermouth the Baillies of the same dyd put hym into prison and there yit kepen hym submytting that he shuld have robbed the said gentilwoman where that all that he dyd was in sayyng of hir lyfe and hir honeste and goodes and all such goodes as youre besecher bought to hir use and at hir instaunce she hath hem, and youre besecher hath yit no peny for them, wherefore hit please youre highnes of youre benigne grace to graunte hym a corpus-cum-causa direct to the said Baillies of Yermouth commaunding them to delivere youre besecher oute of prison and to bringe hym before youre presence. And he shall continually pray to God for you.

[(c) A writ of common law has no force on account of the franchise of the Abbot of Whithy. *Ibid.*, No. 471.]

To the most reverent fader in God and full gracious lord Cardinall and Archebisshop of York and Chancellor of Englande.

Mekely besechith your pour Oratour Thomas Stoughton of London fysshmonger that for asmuche as oon William Founteyns his attorney and factour bought in Flaundes certayne salt fisshes to the valu of c. mark to the use and behove of the moste honorable houshold of oure soverayn lorde the kyng and of youre said oratour also and the said

fishes to be caried at the aventure of youre said oratour.
 And so the saide William putte the said salte fissh in to a
 Shipp of Flaundres for to brynge in to this Reaume of Eng-
 lande and as the said Shipp come seyling in the see in to
 the Temmes here come uppon the said Shipp a balinger of
 this Reaume of Engelond, whereof Thomas Couper Piers
 Thomson Thomas Egremond and Robert Andrewwe were
 oweners and vitellers of the same Shipp, in maner of werre
 toke and lede to such places as them plesed at thaire volun-
 tarye will and dispoyled the said Shipp and departed the said
 fissh contrary to the lige and amyte of oure soveraigne lorde
 the Kynge and also contrary to the lawes of this Reaume
 and ayenste all reason and conscience, also for asmuch as the
 said Thomas Piers Thomas and Robert dwellen within the
 franchise of the Abbot of Whitby may have no maner of
 writte for to be executed ayenst thaym after the cours of the
 comune lawe of this land, and also for to be considered howe
 parte of the said fissh was bought to the use and behove of
 oure said soveraigne lorde housholde, all thees premysses con-
 sidered of youre moste good grace to graunte writtes of sub-
 pena to be directed unto the said Thomas Piers Thomas and
 Robert to appere be fore the Kynge in his chauncellerie at a
 certeyn day by you to (be) limited there to be ruled as god
 faith and conscience requiren for the love of God and in way
 of charite.

3.

[Conflict of jurisdictions (a) Hundred and Town Courts. "The
 Coventry Leet Book," E.E.T.S., 194. 1 October, 1440.]

Item, that on Ric. Molle, weuer, because he sued on Will.
 Harries, deister,¹ in the hundreth contrarie to the ordenaunce
 of diuers letes made in tyme past that no man shuld enplede
 other but in the kynges Courte in Coventre, but yf hit were
 be writte of thyng doon within the seid Cite, upon peyn of

¹ dyer.

cs., be auctorite of this said lete was demed to pay cs. to the Maire and wardeyns to be rered.

[(b) The Court of the Mayor of London and the Royal Courts. Plea and Memoranda Rolls, A. 45, m. 2. 3 Hen. V. (Lat.)]

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, to the Mayor and Aldermen of London, greeting. Whereas, John Russell, "Wolmonger," John Estoun, "joynour," and Richard Anable, "peautrer," of the city aforesaid, came to our court of the Exchequer, and informed us in that court of certain misdoings in contempt of us, committed by Thomas Fauconer, lately our escheator in the court aforesaid, unjustly and under the pretext of his official duties, and these same John, John, and Richard in the same court, summoned by our writ from our Exchequer, accused the same . . . for this cause, you have deprived John, John and Richard of their liberties in the city aforesaid, and have caused the windows and doors of each of them to be shut and sealed up to the prejudice of ourselves and in derogation of our court. We make it clear that we wish the liberties of our court to be observed unimpaired, as is due to me, that our lieges may have access to it for the purpose of prosecution and defence as is fitting. . . .

[The answer of the Mayor and Aldermen.]

We, Nicholas Wooton, Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London, certify that before the arrival of the writ of our Lord the King directed to us, we had not ordered the windows and doors of John Russell and John Estoun, mentioned in the writ, to be closed or sealed, as the said writ assumes. Before the arrival of the said writ, certain windows of a shop of Richard Anable, named in the said writ, for various offences and misprisions committed by the same Richard in the city aforesaid, against the liberties and custom of the said city, had been closed and sealed by our servants and at our command, for these and for no other reasons, according to the form and effect of the custom and liberties of the said city,

from all time, and the memory of man knows not the contrary to have ever been the custom or approved, and we cannot cause the windows to be opened against the liberties aforesaid. And these liberties and customs we are prepared to state on the morrow of the feast of St. Hilary in the presence of the Treasurer and Barons specified below according to the writ.

- [(c) Between the Courts of the Mayor and Bishop at Exeter. "Letters and Papers of John Shillingford, Mayor of Exeter, 1447-50," C.S., 78. From Article I of the accusations brought by the Mayor against the Bishop.]

That there as where oon Hugh Lucays tenant of the saide Bysshop, the most or one of the most mys governed man of all the cite of Excetre or of all the shire afterward, the whiche hath be cause of ij pollucions of the Cathedrall Churchc Cimiteres of the Cite of Excetre, made affray aponn oon Richard Wode yn the Kyngis hugh strete atte Gyldehall dore of the saide Cite of Excetre; apou the wheche affray oon John Glasyer, a sergeant of the Cite of Excetre, arested the saide Hughe, and he brake the arest and wende his way, and the saide John and oon Willham Wynslo another sergeant of the same cite then sywed hym as theire prisoner yn to the saide cimiteres and so yn to the saide Cathedrall Churchc and seised hym there. But as sone as ever the sergeantis were with ynne the Churchc dore alle the doris there were shutte sodenly as hit were done of purpos and for a trayne,¹ notwithstanding that Richard Druell and Thomas Sampson ij stiwardis of the Cite of Excetre folwed fressshely with ynne the space of xvj fote to kepe the pees and myght not entre yn at that dore ne none other dore but at one dore; and so they entred yn, and when they so come yn there they founde the saide sergeantis at grete myschif and theire prisoner violently with strong honde take away fro ham, and apou them by commaundement of the saide Dean and Chapitre (. . .)² St. John Jon with a dore barre and St. Lewis Walssheman, John Panton, and meny other

¹ plot.

² Sic.

minesters of the saide churche to thaym unknowed wyth swerdis, custellis,¹ long knyvis, and yryssh skenes drawyn yn theire hondis to have sleyn the saide sergeantis and wold so have sleyn ham nq hadde y be as God yeaf grace the saide stwardis with other came yn to kepe the pees. And when they come yn they smote to the saide Richard Druell with a custell apou the Kyngis mace as hit is sygne yet, so that alle bothe stiwardis and sergeantis stode yn despayre of theire lyvys and unneth scaped out of the churche with theire lyvys, bycause of the whiche the execucion of the kyngis lawe and the violence done to theire officers yet remayneth unpunysshed to theire grete hurte hyndryng and damagis.

[Article X. *Ibid.*, 91.]

Also the saide Maier and Commynalte compleyneth that the saide Bissshop by his officers drawyth yn to his courtys as well his Court Christian as . . . Court Baron yn Excester divers accions and maters that longeth not to be determined there but before the said Maier and Balliffs, and yn especial yn his Court Baron plees of the Crowne and other plees and maters that longeth to a lete where he hath no suche power ne jurisdiction and the amerciamentes issuys and proffits therof comyng taketh to his awne use yn disherityng, etc.

4.

[Gaol Delivery Rolls: (a) Records of the Corporation of Ipswich. "Hist. MSS. Comm.," Rep. ix., pt. 1, App. 228]

Gaol Delivery Roll 8 Henry V, containing copy of the King's writ for a delivery of all prisoners in his gaol at Ipswich, addressed to Thomas Rolf, John Stauerton, John Glemham, William Waller and John Grey; with records of the trials held on the Saturday in Easter week, 8 Henry V, of the following prisoners:—

(a) John Heigham of Newmarket, co. Suffolk, yeoman, charged with defect of duty in that whilst constable of the

¹ Large knives.

said town, he forebore to arrest John Oundle, at the request of John Brown, cordwainer of the same place, through which neglect the said John Oundle killed the said John. Verdict—Not guilty.

(d) John Trusse of Pesenale, co. Suffolk, mercer, charged with stealing at Becclys, six pieces of cloth and other goods, the property of Nicholas Taylour of Becclys. Verdict—Not guilty.

(k) John Grenelane of London, baker, charged with stealing, at Carlton Coluylle in a place called Morefordbregge, four marks in money out of the purse of John the servant of John Bernevill. Verdict—Guilty. Sentence—To be hung. The said John has no chattels.

[(b) "Records of Mediaeval Oxford, Coroners' Inquests, etc.," ed. H. E. Salter, 50. Roll no. 57 m., 1d. (Lat.).]

Friday, 6 August, 1406.

Inquest before Gilbert Burtone, one of the King's coroners for the county of Oxford, on Friday before the feast of St. Laurence, 7 Henry IV, on a view of the body of Walter Barliche, who died in Stokwelle-strete, by the four nearer parishes, viz., St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Giles in Northgate Hundred, St. Thomas and Holy Cross. The jury say that on Thursday last, at the tenth hour of the night, John Frensh labourer, and Agnes, his wife, broke into the close of the garden of the said Walter and stole his goods, to the value of 2s. Afterwards they returned and assaulted him, John with a staff worth 1d. and Agnes with a knife worth 1d.; and John smote him on the head even to the brain, and Agnes smote him in the throat with her knife, and so they slew him; and immediately John fled, and Agnes was sent to the Castle prison; and they say that John had goods to the value of 5s., which remain in the custody of William Wrasteler, bailiff of Northgate Hundred, together with the staff and knife.

5.

[Roll of the Presentments of the Mickleton Jury. "Records of the Borough of Nottingham," ii. 3^d. (Lat.).]

Inquest of the Great Tourn taken before John Samon, Mayor of the town of Nottingham, on Thursday next after the Feast of S. Wilfrid the Bishop, in the 9th year of the reign of King Henry the IVth after the Conquest, by 12 jurors. (13 October)

Firstly, they say, that Thomas Arnold has blocked up a lane leading from Saynt Jame Lane to Berwardlane.

They also say, that William Spicer and William Bradmere have blocked up the end of Berwardlane with the throwing up of earth on either side, so that they prevent carts passing through the said lane.

They also say, that John Whaplinton occupies the common soil with a barn near the "Chapelbarr".

They also say, that William Pomfret has placed timber upon "Tymerhyll" in the King's highway, to the nuisance of the neighbours; and moreover they say that through the default of that timber there lying John Ward, barber, was killed.

They also say, that John Sherwood occupies the highway with "stokkes" and "stubbes" to the nuisance of the neighbours and of the people of our Lord the King.

6.

[A person named John Lyalton had been accused by one Robert Norreys of treason; the parties agreed to appeal to arms. Minutes of the Council, c. 23 May, 1453. Nicolas, "Proc.," vi. 133]

Be ther maad a prive seel in due fourme to the Chaunceller of Englande for to do make writtes unto the shiriefes of London thay for to do make a skaffold for the King and barrers and listes sufficeant and convenable, and also gravel and sonde the grounde in Smithfelde where the bataille shalbe

as the Kinges costes and expenses and thay thereof to have allowance in thaire forme that thay be to yilde unto us for thair saide office.

Item be ther maad an other prive seel in due fourme to Jenkyn of Stanlay sergeant of the Kinges armures or to his depute to do make . . . sufficeant and convenient armure and wepens and deliver it to John Lialton appellat for his fight in Smithfelde.

Item be ther maad an other lettre of prive seel in due fourme to Thomas Bee staynyor oon of the counsail with the (. . .)¹ for him at the Kinges costes and expenses suche thinges for the saide bataille as belangeth to his crafte.

7.

[Jurisdiction of the Constable. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. IV, i. 458, dated 4 February, 1401.]

Commission to the King's kinsman, Henry de Percy, earl of Northumberland, Constable of England, to hear and determine divers unaccustomed cases and business concerning the estate, fame, and condition of the King's person and the dignity of the crown, although they are such that by their nature they cannot be discussed or determined by pretext of the office of constable or by the common law of the realm but only by the King's hearing or commission.

8.

[Commission of oyer and terminer. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Hen. VI, vi. 54, dated 28 September, 1452.]

Commission of oyer and terminer to . . . in the counties of Essex, Hertford, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Rutland, Lincoln, Northampton, Buckingham, Bedford, Oxford, and Berks, touching all treasons, insurrections, rebellions, felonies, lollardries, trespasses, convocations, combinations, associations, conspiracies, misprisions, confederacies, false

¹ Sic.

allegiances, riots, routs, robberies, depredations, homicides, murders, rapes of women, congregations, unlawful gatherings, negligences, falsities, deceptions, contempts, concealments, maintenances, oppressions, extortions, champerties, ambidextries and other offences.

9.

[Exercise of the King's prerogative of pardon, 1444. S. Bentley, "Excerpta Historica," 281. Cf. "Brut," E.E.T.S., 485.]

By the King.

Right rewerende fader in God right trusty and right welbeloved. We grete you wel and howgh be it that Thomas Keruer is founde byfore oure Juges gilty of the detestable and factionous crime of high tresone touching oure Royal persone and adjudged accordyng his demerytes to be drawen hanged and qwartered, yet we for certeyne consideracions mevyngge us be advyse to tempre in this cas mercy with rigoure . . . and so have pardoned hym after the seide drawyng and hangyng don his life, committyng hym natheles unto prisone there to abyde til hit shall like us othir wise to ordeyne for hym wherfore we wol that ye do make unto the seide Thomas oure lettres of pardone under oure grete seal . . . and more over we pray you that in oure seide lettres of pardone ye do set sueche a clause be the whiche we wol that it be opynly knowene to all our subjectis of what estat or degre they be of and though they were next of oure bloode if they falle in cas sembale that God forbede, we shal not shewe them nother favor nor grace but do them dewly to be punysshed after thexigence of theire trespass. . . .

. . . Yeven at Wycombe under the signet of thegle iiij day of August.

To the right reverend fader in God, oure right trusty and right welbeloved tharchebysshop of Canterbury, our Chancellor of Englande.

[Intimidation of a jury. P.R.O., Early 'Chancery Proceedings,
Bundle 13, No. 85, 24 Hen. VI.]

To the right reverent fader in god John Archebusshop of
Caunterbury Chaunceller of England.

Sheweth Thomas Lambard your poeuer oratour how ther
as oon Roger Crome suyth ayeins your seid Besecher an
assise of fressh force in the kynges court a fore the mair and
Sherif of the Citee of Yorke of free hold in Yorke oon William
Cliffe late that oon of the Sherifs of the seid citee before whome
to gedir with the seid mair and that other of the seid sherifs the
seid plee honged ther to be determyned, by colour of the seid
office of the seid Willame broght ynne to the seid court atte
divers dayes of the seid plee divers extorcioners riotours and
mysdoers unknowen in affray thretyng and terroure of the
persones empanelled in the seid assise to the entente to ouer-
lede¹ and mysdoo as wele your seid besecher as all suche
persones empanelled willyng and sette to say trougth therine
with out any favour shewed to the partie of the seid Roger
so that suche persones empanelled some of theym drust not
appere and some apperyng drust not sey trougth ther ynne
to the gret hurt and hynderyng of your seid besecher, wherof
he hath no remedie atte comune lawe with oute your gracious
socour. Besechyng your good and gracious lordship that
ye considering the premisses ther vppon will graunte a writte
directe to the seid William to appeir afore the Kyng in his
chancellerie atte a certeyn day and vppon a certain payn by
you to be lymeted ther by thaim to be examyned of the
premisses, and ther ynne further to doo and reseyve as right
trougth and conscience requiren.

¹ Oppress.

11.

[Bribery of a sheriff. From a letter from John Osbern to John Paston, 27 May, 1451. "Paston Letters," ii. 241, No. 193.]

Plese it your masterchep to wete that I have spoke wyth the Shereff at hese placez, . he seyde he wold do for yow that he may, excepte for the aquitell of the Lord Molyns men, in so meche as the Kyng hath wrete to hym for to shewe favour to the Lord Moleyns and hese men, and as he seyth the indytement longyth to the Kyng, and not to yow, and the Lord Molyns a gret lord. Also, as he seyth, now late the Lord Molyns hath sent hym a letter, and my Lord of Norffolk anoder, for to shew favour in these indytements, he darnot abide the joporte of that, that he shuld offende the Kinges commaundment. He know not how the Kyng may be informed of hym, and what shal be seyde to hym.

And than I sayde as for any joporte that he shuld abyde in any thing that he doth for yow, or be your desyre, you have offered hym, and wol performat, sufficient sewerte for to save hym harmeless, and therefore I supposid ther wold non resonable man thynk but that he myght do for yow wyth owte any joporte. And then he seyde he myth non sewerte take that passid C li. ; and the Lord Molyns is a gret lord, he myght soon cause hym to lese that, and meche mo . . . but be hese feyth, as he swore, if the Kyng wryte ayan to hym he wol no lenger abyde the joporte of the Kyngges wrytyng, but he trustyth to Godde to impanell seche men as shuln to hise knowleche be indeferent, and non comon jurors As me semyth it wolde do goode and ye wolde gett a comaundment of the Kyng to the Shereff for to shew yow favour, and to impanell jantelmen, and not for to favour non seche riotts, etc. ; for he seyde, that he sent yow the letter that the Kyng sent hym, and ye seyde a man shuld gete seche on for a noble.

Item, I remembred hym of the promyses that he hath made to Temperley, and that if he wold make yow very trew promys, ye wolde rewarde hym as meche as he wold desire,

on any other resonable man for him, and asmoche and mor then any adverserry ye have wold gef hym; than he seyde he toke never no mony of non of hem alle. There was proferid hym at Walsyngham for the Lord Molyns xx. nobles, he had not a peny; moreover, I proferid hym, if he wold make yow a promys that ye myght verly trust upon hym, ye wold geff hym in hande as he wold desire, or to leve a summe if he wold a named it in a mene mannys hand, and seche as he hath trust to. And then he seyde, if he myght do for yow, or if he do any thyng for yow, then he wol take yowre mony wyth a good wyl; . . . I conceyve verly he hath made promys to do hese part that they shul be a quytte, . . . but he lokyth after a gret brybe, but it is not for to trust hym verly with owte, that he may not chese.

12.

[Defiance of the law. (a) Petition from John Paston to Parliament, 1450. "Paston Letters," ii 127, No. 102.]

The seid Lord sent to the seid mansion a riotous peple, to the nombre of a thowsand persones, with blanket bendes¹ of a sute as riseres ageyn your pees, arrayd in maner of werre, with curesse, brigaunders, jakks, salettes, gleyfes, bowes, arows, pavyse,² gonnes, pannys with fier and teynes³ brennyng therein, long cromes⁴ to drawe doun housis, ladders, pikoyes, with which thei myned down the wallis, and long trees with which thei broke up yates and dores, and so came in to the seid mansion, the wiff of your besecher at that tyme beyng ther in, and xij. persones with her; the which persones thei dreve oute of the seide mansion, and myned down the walle of the chambre wher in the wyff of your seid besecher was, and bare here oute at the yates, and cutte a sondre the postes of the howses and lete them falle, and broke up all the chambres and cofres within the seid mansion, and rifelyd, and

¹ Bands of white woollen cloth.

² Large shields.

³ Metal rods.

⁴ A Norfolk word, signifying a staff with a crook at the end of it.

in maner of robbery bare away all the stuffe, aray, and money that your seyd besecher and his servauntes had ther, on to the valew of cc. li, and part therof sold, and part ther of yaffe, and the remenaunt thei departed among them, to the grete and outrageous hurt of your seyd besecher, saying openly, that if thei myght have found ther yowr seyd besecher, and on John Damme, which is of counsell with hym, and divers oder of the servauntes of your seyd besecher, thei shuld have died.

[(b) Nicolas, "Chron. of London," 117, 1428.]

This same yere betwen Estren and Witsontyd a fals Breton mordred a wydewe in here bed, the whiche fond hym for almasse withoughte Algate in the subarbes of London, and bar away alle that sche hadde, and afterward he toke socour of Holy Chirche at Seynt Georges in Suthwerk, but at the laste he tok the crosse and forswore the kynges land; and as he wente hys way it happyd hym to come be the same place where he had don that cursed dede, and women of the same paryssh comen out with stones and canell dang, and there maden an ende of hym on the hyghe strete, so that he wente no fether there notwithstandinge the constables and othere men also, whiche hadde hym undir governaunce to conduyt him forward, for there was a gret companye of them, and hadde no mercy, no pyte.

13.

[Attempts to suppress livery and maintenance. (a) Letter from Henry VI to the bailiffs of Bridport, 24 June, 1439 "Hist. MSS Comm.," Rep. vi., App., 496.]

It is comen to our knowledge by diverse credible rapportes, that certain indisposed personnes presume and take upone theym to use reteindres, lyveres, bagieux, and cognoissaunces, within the said tounne, ayenst owre laudable statute in suche caas provided, by occasion wherof discordes and divisiouns have ensued to the perturbaunce of oure peax, subversioun of good rule, and inquietacioun of our subgiettes

ther, to theire universal hurtes and to owre noo little displeasur. Wherefore we . . . wool therefor, and charge you, to see that noo maner persone inhabitaunt amonge you use ne were heraftere any lyveres, or in any wise be reteyned contrary to our said statute.

[(b) Presentment of a jury, Hundred of Offlow (Staffs), 1 Hen. V. P.R.O., Ancient Indictments, Bundle 113. (Lat.).]

The jury present on their oath that whereas . . . (here the substances of the Statutes 1 and 7 Hen. IV are given, see S.R., ii. 113, 155) William Bermyngeham, of Bermyngeham, in the county of Warwick, knight, on the Monday next after Easter in the first year of the reign of our lord the King that now is, gave a livery of cloth to John Haywardyn of Aldridge in the county of Stafford, carpenter, William Blimhill of Alta Warre¹ in the county of Stafford, yeoman, and to John of Dunston of Aldridge in the county of Stafford, yeoman, that is to say, to each of them three yards of cloth, green and white in colour, at Litchfield, they not being servants or officials of the said William Bermyngeham or of his council according to the terms of either one or the other statute, and therefore contrary to the form of the statutes and ordinances aforesaid. And that the said John Haywardyn, William Blimhill, and John of Dunston, took the liveries from the said William Bermyngeham on that day and year in contempt of our lord the King that now is, and contrary to the form of the statutes and ordinances aforesaid.

14.

[Oath of a sheriff, 1447. Cant. and York Soc., Vol. xxii., "Reg. of Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford, 1422-48," 290.]

¹ Ye shall serve the kynge wele and trewly in the office of the shiriff of Hereford, and doo the kynges profet in all the thyng that longeth to you be way of your to do as farforth as ye kan or may. Ye shall trewly kepe the kynges rightes

¹ Presumably Great Barr.

and all that longeth to the corone. Ye shall not assent to decreesse to lassyng or to concelement of the kynges rightes or of his franchises. And wherever ye shall have knowledge that the kynges rightes or the rightes of the corone ben conceled or withdrawe, be it in landes, rentes, franchises, or suytes, or any other thynges, ye shall do your trewe power to make hem to be restored to the kyng ayen. And yif ye may not do hit, ye shall certifie the kyng or summe of his counseill therof, such as ye holde for certen wyll say hit to the kyng. Ye shall not respite the kynges dettes for any gift or favour where ye may reyse hem without to grete grevaunce of the dettours. Ye shall trewlie and rightwislie trete the people of your shirrifwek and do right as wele to poverer as to riche in all that longeth to your office. Ye shall do no wrong to any man for any yeft or good behest or promise of gud, for favour or hate. Ye shall destourbe no mannes right. Ye shall trewlie acquite at the Eschequer all tho of whome ye shall any thyng receyve of the kynges dettes. Ye shall no thyng take whereby the kyng may lese or whereby that right may be destourbled, and trewlie serve all the kynges writtes als ferforth as hit shall be in your konnyng. Ye shall none have to be your undersherif, or any of the shirif clerkes, the last yer passed; ye shall take noo bailiffs in to your service but such as ye wyll answer for. Ye shall make iche of your bailiffs to swer suche othe as ye make yourself in that that longeth to their occupacion. Ye shall resceyve no writte by you or any of youre unseled, or any seale under the seale of any justice save of justice in Eyre or justice assigned in the same shire where ye be shirrif in or of justice of Newgate. Ye shall make your bailiffs of the moost trewe and sufficient men in the contrey. Also ye shall do all your payne and diligence to distruy and make to sese all manner erreses and errours commonly called Lollardies within your baillifwik from tyme to tyme to all your power, and assiste and to be helpyng to all the ordenaryes and commissaries of hooly chirche, and favour and maynteyne hem as oftymes as ye shall be re-

quyred by the said ordinaryes and commyssearyes. Ye shall be deballyng¹ in youre propour persone within your baillifwik for the tyme ye shall be in your said office. Ye shall not let your shirrifwik or any baillage thereof to ferme to any man; and also ye shall trewly sette and retourne resonable and due issues of theym that ben within your baillifwik after their estate and their honoure, and make your panelles yourself. Thees thinges all ye shall trewly kepe as God help you and his sayntes.

¹ dwelling.